

M A THESIS

THE MOVE TO INNER CITY APARTMENTS:

**A STUDY OF CHANGING RESIDENTIAL
PATTERNS IN CHRISTCHURCH**

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is a group of New Zealand homeowners whose choice of home is in stark contrast to the suburban stand-alone privately owned house that historically has become entrenched as the ideal image of home in this country. The move to an inner city apartment has resulted in residents becoming involved in a complex set of interrelated physical, social and legal relationships. These represent a shift away from the powerful cultural norm of household autonomy signified by the traditional housing form. To understand this changing residential pattern the notion of the inner city apartment as a locale where people can work at attaining a sense of ontological security is explored. This has involved building on the work of Dupuis and Thorns who have developed the ideas of Giddens and Saunders on ontological security. In this study the concept of ontological security is explored through a set of empirical data drawn from interviews with inner city apartment owners. The extent to which an inner city apartment meets the conditions for the maintenance of ontological security is assessed through an exploration of this new residential type as the site of constancy, routine, control and identity. By noting how the meanings of home have changed for this group of New Zealanders the idea that the meanings of home reflects the society around it is developed. This focus emphasises how meanings of home are context specific. Previous research noted how data needs to be seen in relation to New Zealanders' long standing pre-occupation with land and home ownership. What is central to this thesis is the notion that the move to inner city apartments reflects the need to extend this analysis of context to more fully incorporate a consideration of the physical characteristics of the residence, and the social constructs of family and gender roles and the place of home in these. This reveals the extent to which political and economic factors have shaped our residential patterns and how this construction has been associated with an undercurrent of a moral social order, based on an assumption of patriarchal gender relations. How these matters are now played out in an environment influenced by the constraints of an interpretation of environmental sustainability, an effects based planning regime created by the Resource Management Act (1991), and the economic growth strategies of the 'free market', provides the substantive material for this study. These matters relate to how our residential forms constrain and / or empower us.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is the culmination of a number of years study at the University of Canterbury where I have been privileged to have received some excellent and challenging instruction from some great teachers. I am particularly indebted to Professor David Thoms, whose expertise I have been able to call on as he has patiently helped channel my interest in this subject. I have been exceedingly fortunate to have his supervision for this study. With the insightful, exacting and supportive assistance from my secondary supervisor, Dr Jane Higgins, my thesis has benefited greatly from the efforts of both my supervisors. To David and Jane my thanks.

The process of quantitative data collection for this study has been aided by the efforts of staff from a number of bodies including: Valuation New Zealand; the Christchurch City Council's Environmental Planning and Policy Department; and the ever pleasant and conscientious staff from the information desk of the University of Canterbury's main library. I am grateful for their assistance.

I am greatly indebted to the many individuals who, in a personal or a professional capacity, were prepared to spend time with me as I collected my qualitative data. Without their generosity of spirit and personal insights, given with so little able to be offered in return, this research would not have been possible. Particularly to the residents who, within their busy schedules, invited me into their homes to share their personal experiences, thank you.

For my family who have been with me, and have supported me, in so many ways through my study, thank you for the 'space' that this endeavour has required. I also wish to acknowledge the influence of my parents, Naida and Max Rudkin. Their wisdom and love has had an enduring influence on my own 'sense of place'. I am very grateful.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

C. Wright Mills described the most fruitful distinction with which the sociological imagination works as between 'the personal troubles of milieu' and 'the public issues of social structure.... *Troubles* occur within the character of the individual and within the range of his [sic] immediate relations with others. They have to do with the self and with those limited areas of social life of which he [sic] is directly and personally aware.... *Issues* have to do with matters that transcend those local environments of the individual and the range of his [sic] inner life' (Mills, 1959:8). This study was motivated by my desire to understand how these matters reveal themselves within the changing residential pattern of inner city Christchurch.

My interest in this topic developed from a 'personal milieu' that includes a housing history that has involved the development, ownership, and private selling of various types of residential and commercial property in Christchurch. My academic interest has developed at the end of a twenty five year business career that has involved direct contact with a large number of home owners throughout New Zealand who have sought furniture design solutions for their individual and family living arrangements. The result of this experience leads me to concur with Gwendolyn Wright's description of the power of society's ideal home, '...at once architectural and cultural, the two intersect and fuse together.... Seemingly without controversy.... it obscures and contains many conflicts' (1991:214). An image of an ideal home is a powerful force that can place enormous demands and constraints on people as they struggle to fit a physical entity that in reality may not provide for the needs, or the aspirations of the occupiers.

For many in society, as the state withdraws from policies of collective responsibility, and as the effects of the restructuring processes become apparent, general living circumstances are being created which can appear alienating, and for many, apparently uncontrollable. 'Revolutionary changes' (Sharp, 1994:1) in the organisation of

government services since 1984, and in the provision of social welfare since 1990, have scarcely left anyone untouched. The country has been opened up to the effects of international capital movements, with the removal of subsidies and incentives being particularly challenging for the farming and manufacturing sectors. The philosophy behind the changes is a desire to reduce the role of the state, but for many the power of the bureaucracy seems to grow. Divestment of governmental functions and radical changes in labour law have resulted in the transformation of employer and employee relations. Education, health and local government reforms have significantly affected those working for, and serviced by, these institutions (see Sharp, 1994). The fundamental idea governing the 'clusters of ideas' that is driving the legal, managerial and economic argument and decision making of the changes, is that 'individuals should be regarded as maximisers of their own utility'. Individuals become 'consumers' of services and will choose only what is best for themselves on an imagined 'market'. Only where the 'providers' are in competition with one another will the 'consumer' find that utility-maximising choices become available. (Sharp, 1994:5).

As we ask how it is our houses constrain or empower us it is important also to question how the logic of the 'market', operating within a regime created by the environmental determinants of the Resource Management Act (1991) (RMA), is able to deliver housing stock. It is these questions that form the substantive topic of this research. Many complex and interdependent factors such as socio-economic factors, age, gender, marital status, dependants, and employment will affect the choices made. The degree of residential 'choice' that is open to various groups in society will not be the same. Increasingly as the 'market' is left to provide for our housing needs factors of social needs, justice, or equity are not part of the equation. At the heart of neoclassical economics is the assumption that the market will deliver adequate or appropriate housing stock, as cost factors impinge upon the supply / demand relationship. The decision of where we choose to live is seen to be made at a personal level and it is this that will determine the nature and location of our new housing stock. The whole thrust of the restructuring process since the early 1980's has been towards a market-led economy. By creating 'a level playing field' the assumption is made that the decisions of the entrepreneurs are in the best interests of the

nation and that central government and local bodies should intervene as little as possible. The fact is that there has been a significant increase in the number of housing units built in the inner city area of Christchurch and, as my research will show, new residents are enthusiastically engaging in the ambience of the location and their new homes. This would tend to support the theory that consumers' demand for housing and buildings leads to the type of cities we end up with. Apartment developments are one component resulting, in part, from urban consolidation policies and planning strategies that however remain contentious. Underlying some of the tension in the changes are doubts about the role of planning by local authorities. The RMA is concerned with regulating the effects of human activities on the environment, rather than regulating human behaviour *per se*, as was the purpose of the Town and Country Planning Act, which it replaced. The RMA focus is on sustainable management of natural and physical resources, allowing for the management of effects of economic and social activities, not the promotion or planning for those activities (Moran, 1992; Perkins *et al*, 1993; Memon and Gleeson, 1995; Grundy, 1994: in Le Heron, Richard, and Pawson, E., 1996:290; Perkins and Thorns, 1997). As described by Britton *et al* it incorporates greater allowance for the use of economic instruments reflecting Treasury's push for the power of the market to deliver efficient environmental outcomes without the need for costly intervention and regulation (1992:195). It is in this climate of an uneasy alliance between the neo-liberal economic philosophies and the new environmentalism (Mulgan, 1989, in Britton *et al* 1992:232) that the new housing stock of our city is being produced.

As a result of recent and projected population growth in Christchurch, the existence of boundaries, such as the 'green belt', which are perceived as restraining the growth of the city, and the release of the 1995 Christchurch City Plan, the debate over the 'planned' future shape of the city has intensified. The debate and decisions, which surround growth options for Christchurch, have a major bearing on residential patterns in the city. Many planners, city councilors, architects, engineers, developers, and social commentators in the media advocate development of the central city area for higher-density living. Others, including some sectors of established residents, community groups, designers and heritage groups, have become alarmed by recent developments. It is evident that there is a

range of opinions held concerning the desirability and actual source of the momentum behind the move into the inner-city that is changing the shape of the urban environment. As expressed in the media the continuum is from unrestrained market forces, to strict town-planning regulation and law. The coverage in the media indicates a vigorous debate is taking place.

From my sociological perspective what appears to have been lacking in the debate, but essential for any meaningful understanding of the desirability, direction or inevitability of such changes, is an examination of the socio-spatial consequences of this significant urban change. What is needed is a perspective that has the capacity to incorporate an understanding of the factors that have created the motivations, actions and social consequences of this change in residential style in Christchurch. Now sectional interests appear to define the 'problem' and direct the 'solutions' from limited perspectives, or they tend to be based on, or constrained by, the over-riding principle of environmental determinism that dominates the thinking behind the RMA. The assumption driving this environmental determinism is that social structures can, and will, be properly accounted for once environmental 'bottom lines' are established and monitored. However as Gottdiener (1985:266) states "...our environment is a social creation and its design can be controlled for the social good." Until the nature of that construction is more fully understood and/or acknowledged any control of its design will be inadequate, and/or misdirected.

This study of the move to inner city apartments is designed to add to our understanding and awareness of that social construction by building on existing work on the meaning of home, with particular reference to work done within the context of New Zealand society (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996, 1998). In particular this work by Dupuis and Thorns focuses on the significance of owner occupation (Saunders, 1989), and the way meanings of home are context specific. As Dupuis and Thorns state access to housing and meanings ascribed to home '...arise from and reflect, specific layers of historical and social circumstances.', and the '...active search for ontological security is shaped and constrained by the particular framework or setting in which it occurs.'(Dupuis and

Thorns, 1998). This developed the Saunders and Williams' (1988) idea of the meaning of home reflecting the society around it.

This description and explanation of the specific context in which the move to inner city apartments is occurring will involve an analysis of the home as a societal entity that has been shaped by political and economic forces. This will be followed by a consideration of the physical, material nature of the residential type and location. To contextualise the personal choices, constraints, and consequences of residents in this way use will be made of the concept of residence (Kemeny 1992:11). A residence is a home understood as encompassing the internal dwelling, the household, and locality factors. It is a concept that acknowledges the interdependence of the physical and social aspects of housing. One cannot be fully understood without reference to the other, as each will be strongly influenced by the relationship. This discussion will consider the extent that our residential patterns and preferences are a social construct.

By examining the structural forces that have shaped the taken-for-granted nature of our residential forms, as well as our home ownership structure, recent changes to the shape and direction of residential patterns can be placed in context. This will help explain the significance of the endeavours that a group of homeowners have made as they seek to find a fit between themselves, their homes, neighbourhood, and dominant cultural values. Who we are and what is expected of us is inherently bound within gender expectations and the prevailing set of ideals that drive policies, attitudes and behaviors of the day. The social construction of residential patterns and the concepts of families and gender, have a mutually determinant relationship with each other. Changes are occurring in demographic patterns, individual provision and residual welfare policies, employment opportunities, and household structures. The overriding gendered nature of outcomes and the general consequences of these trends are having an impact on the way we seek a feeling of constancy, security and stability, routine, control, and a secure base to construct a sense of identity. Changes in the physical environment are indicative of these social changes but the question that needs to be asked is whose interests are being best served by the changed residential pattern in Christchurch?

Dupuis and Thorns (1996, 1998) used as a framework for their analysis of the meaning of home the role of the home in endowing individuals with a sense of ontological security. Giddens describes ontological security as the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of their social and material environments (1990: 92). Dupuis and Thorns suggest that the more general understanding of ontological security might be a sense of feeling at ease, or at home, in a world which can appear external and threatening. 'It is a security of being' (1998: 27). Accepting the built environment as a place to maintain ontological security, like Dupuis and Thorns, I assume the home to be a locale in modern society through which ontological security can be obtained.

This present research will apply the concept of ontological security to the analysis of the motivations, expectations and realities of residents who have moved to the inner city. Central to my analysis is the contention that the change in residential patterns reflects a shift in the means of perceiving and acquiring a sense of ontological security in our society. An analysis of the actions taken by individual residents will help reveal to what extent they are moving because of, or in spite of, prevailing ideals of what the New Zealand home has come to mean. It will then be possible to gain a greater understanding of the meanings some New Zealander's attach to their homes, and how and why this may be changing within and / or between generations. This will also help make clear the vital significance of residency in the lives of individuals, and within social structure.

In the context of New Zealand society an inner city apartment represents a non-traditional housing type and along with their changed ownership structure a significant blurring of private/public social and physical boundaries associated with the home has occurred. As Carole Depres states, 'Personal, shared or societal-wide values, attitudes, meanings, and experiences about the home are rooted in the interplay of individual, spatial, and societal forces as they merge in individual daily actions and practices' (1991:108). What is implicit in this statement is also a central tenet of this study. That is the centrality of the interrelationships between structural forces and individual actions. To '...untangle our

own culture's complex ideology of home; the expectations, the desires, and the system interlaced within the images' (Wright, 1991:219), we need to listen to what people tell us. We then must attempt to understand and explain these experiences by making the '...connections with larger social realities' (Mills, 1959:15). As the theoretical insights of Anthony Giddens (1981,1984) show social interaction is in part constituted by its spatial setting. Our homes make a significant emotional, cultural, and economic contribution to our lives, providing a crucial 'locale' where social relations and social institutions are constituted and reproduced. It is our housing that provides the space that frames and can define many of the activities that constitute primary relationships in the home, reflecting and shaping much of our social world.

Home ownership *per se* is a crucial factor in the means of acquiring this sense of 'being-in-the-world' (Giddens, 1990: 92). However, the move to inner city apartments suggests that a focus on tenure may obscure other significant factors that have a bearing on the fit individuals are able to find between themselves, their home, and a sense of ontological security. Ownership, on its own, is not necessarily enough to satisfy the diverse, complex and dynamic factors associated with positive meanings of home. Also of crucial importance to our understandings of home and how this may be changing is the significant change to the nature of ownership that the move to inner city apartments represents.

My observations suggest to me that, for many moving into the inner-city, their 'home' has become not so much the 'ends and the means' but more the 'means' for their enjoyment and fulfillment of life. By choosing a very different form and location of residency the question is posed whether this represents a challenge to the notion of the 'home' as a vital locale through which ontological security can be obtained. Has the nature of that security and the physical form and role of that entity changed?

As Gwendolyn Wright notes the power of the ideal home is pervasive and we tend to personalise the difficulty we may have finding a satisfactory fit between our needs, our homes and neighbourhood, and dominant cultural values(1991:225). The need to make

the connections between individual actions and structural forces was expressed so succinctly by C. Wright Mills when he described the sociological imagination as enabling '...us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society.... to grasp what is going on in the world, and to understand what is happening in themselves as minute points of the intersections of biography and history within society.' (Mills, 1954:6-7). '...(People) sense that within their everyday worlds, they cannot overcome their troubles, and in this feeling, they are often quite correct.' (Mills, 1954:1). It is my contention that our urban forms, and most particularly our place of residence, can form part of what Mills describes as a series of traps in our private lives. Asking questions that pertain to our notions of home can help explain the nature of some of those traps and the solutions some have found for overcoming them. This explanation focuses on the move some have made to Christchurch's inner city apartments.

Chapter two will provide an outline of the theoretical framework that has shaped this research. This will include an explanation of the concept residency. This leads to the structurationist theory developed by Anthony Giddens, and the extension of his concept of ontological theory to the built environment, to the home, and to home ownership. Links are made to earlier research done on the meaning of home in New Zealand (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996,1998), and areas that this present research hopes to build on are given. In chapter three I outline my methodological approach, clarify definitions, identify sources used to obtain data, and describe briefly the process followed in the course of this study. Chapter four provides an analysis of the home as a societal reality. An historical perspective of the political and economic forces that have shaped residential patterns and New Zealanders' concept of home is given. The importance of context is emphasised to make the links between the legal, political, and economic institutions and the physical forms of the urban environment. This material reality is described in chapter five. The debate surrounding the interrelated forces of urban consolidation, the City Plan, the consent process and the 'market' and how they are changing this material reality, is outlined. Chapter six provides an analysis of the perceived and experienced reality of residents in new inner city apartments. An introduction to the inner city apartment as a site of ontological security is followed by four sections that utilise the Dupuis and

Thorns' definition of the conditions that need to prevail for a sense of ontological security to be maintained. These are: constancy in the social and material environment; an element of routine occurring in everyday life patterns; freedom from the surveillance that is part of the contemporary which allows for a sense of control that is missing in other locales; and the establishment of a stable identity. In conclusion, chapter seven notes significant findings, the implications of these, and how these findings can be strengthened with further research.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will provide a brief review of the research field encompassed by this study. An outline of the theoretical framework of the study will be given. This will include an explanation of the concepts of ontological security and residency and how they relate to a study of the meanings of home. The importance of context from a structurationist perspective is illustrated as the New Zealand context is introduced. This specific spatial and temporal context will be reflected in the theoretical framework as changes and trends that have provided the motivation for this study are linked to the need for highlighting or building on existing theoretical concepts.

The theoretical debate surrounding the significance of the relationship between people and their homes is a relatively recent one although it has developed from a long established sociological interest in space and urban phenomena. The recent debate within housing research concerning the meaning of home developed in Britain as a result of the privatization of council housing in the 1980's, as a right-to-buy program was implemented. This led to a growing awareness of the significance of home ownership in people's lives. A developing feminist urban theory, and the growing influence of a post-modernism that has focused on identity and home, has emphasized the complexity and often contradictory nature of the subject.

The major aim of this study is to build on the existing work on the meaning of home, particularly within the New Zealand context. This work used as a starting point the proposition put forward by Saunders (1984, 1986) that home ownership offers individuals a means through which they can obtain a sense of ontological security in their everyday lives. He used the concept of ontological security developed by Anthony Giddens and extended this into the debate on the meanings of home.

Anthony Giddens had described ontological security as the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of their social and

material environments (1990: 92). Saunders (1984,1986) claims that by owning a home people will feel in control of their environment, free from surveillance, free to be themselves and at ease. As Saunders and Williams (1988) claim the home offers people '...a sense of niche and of belonging...' (:87). Madigan, Munro and Smith (1993) define ontological security as simply the desire for control over and safety within one's personal or household space. 'Stated simply, ontological security is a sense of confidence and trust in the world as it appears to be'(Dupuis and Thorns, 1998:27). The central focus of Dupuis and Thorns' paper is the notion that the home provides a locale where people can work at attaining a sense of ontological security in a world that can be '...experienced as threatening and uncontrollable (1998: 43).

Giddens' argument is that ontological security is a deep psychological need for individuals, founded on the establishment of the trust relationships of early childhood. It is closely related to routine, through the pervasive influence of habit. He argues that the changing nature of our modern society has adversely affected our means of securing this sense of ontological security, as it is natural, rather than created environments which can provide this. In pre-modern times

...ontological security was sustained by the routine of face to face interaction within the kinship system, ontological security in the modern world is fragile and tenuous in nature. This is largely due to the changed nature of trust mechanisms which in the modern world are based less on routine, face to face interaction, but instead, on abstract tokens like money and expert systems like professional expertise.... As a consequence, ontological security has to be actively reground in personal ties with others... (in Dupuis and Thorns, 1998: 27-28).

As Saunders extended the concept of ontological security he deviated from Giddens' explanation by emphasizing the importance of routine day-to-day activities taking place through familiar time-space paths that can be 'created' or 'natural'. He claims that created environments, particularly the home, are where people feel in control of their environment, free from surveillance, free to be themselves and at ease, in the deepest

psychological sense, in a world that might at times be experienced as threatening and uncontrollable. His focus on tenure leads him to the proposition that it is home ownership that provides a means by which people attain a sense of ontological security. Saunders does not see space itself as mattering but concentrates on consumption. He formed this opinion in Britain in the 1960's-80's as owner-occupier numbers grew substantially there. His focus was therefore one of tenure and privatised modes of consumption (Thorns, 1992:210). The claim of Saunders and Williams is that it is around the idea of the home that the ideals of freedom, autonomy and self-determination are reproduced. The home reflects and also plays a part in constituting the society. '...[I]n British society the private realm is constituted by the home, and the home is constituted by the private realm: they entail each other and they are conditions of each other's reproduction'(1988:88).

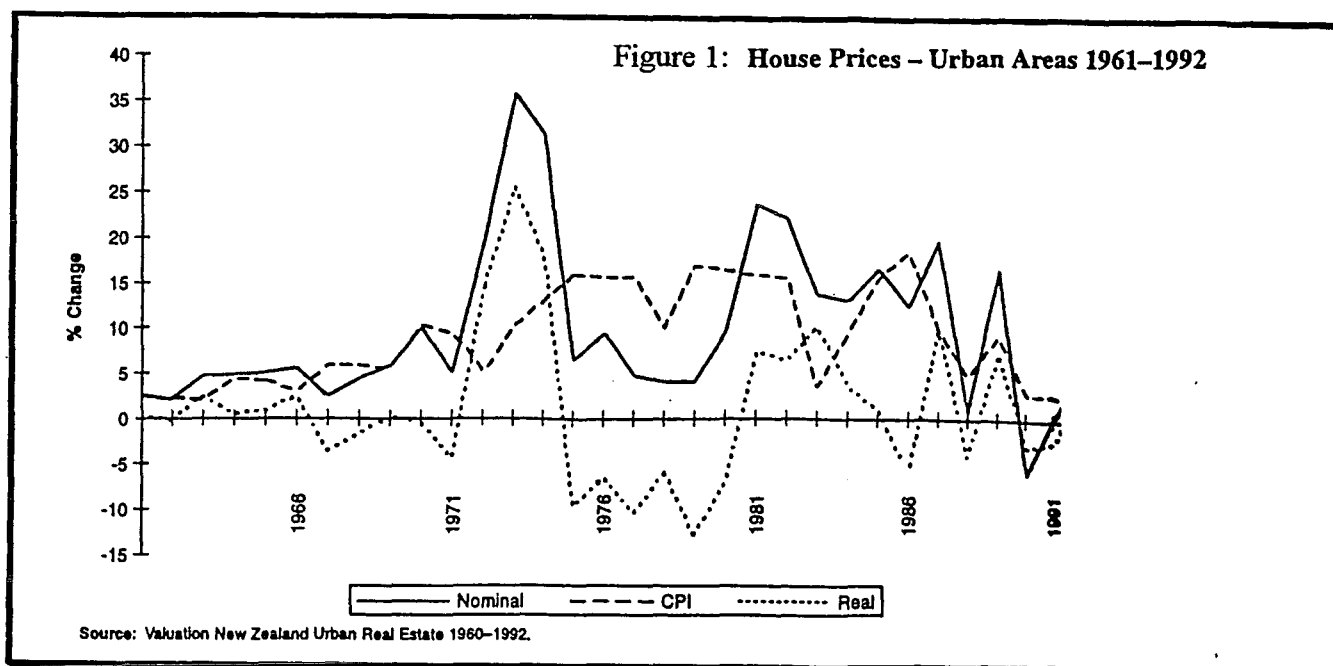
Dupuis and Thorns argue that people work to maintain a framework of ontological security in their everyday lives, and much of this activity takes place in the private realm (1998). Their analysis is based on the contention that the four conditions that need to be met for this sense of security to be maintained are:

- a constancy in the social and material environment is maintained (the 'home' provides the material environment most closely associated with continuity and permanence, associated with the process of making the house into a home, and ownership);
- an element of routine occurs in everyday life patterns (familiar time-space paths or courses of action, providing routine and familiarity, associated with family, friends, memories and rituals);
- there is a freedom from surveillance in at least some aspects of people's lives (feelings of control, freedom, refuge, autonomy);
- an individual is able to establish a stable identity (gendered identities, pride of ownership).

Two further themes were woven into this New Zealand research. (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996,1998). These developed from the claim by Saunders and Williams (1988) that the meaning of home has come to reflect the society around it, and secondly that it is likely to

vary within households, between households and between areas. A significant factor that their research attested to was the recognition that meanings of home are multifaceted and complex because they develop in specific temporal and social contexts. Their research highlighted the theoretical and empirical weaknesses of Saunders' argument. Evidence is given of his identification of phases in tenure development that need refining within the New Zealand experience. They are not necessarily transferable to New Zealand. Here the owner-occupier rate has always been well ahead of Britain. Also his contention of the economic advantage of ownership needs to be more sensitive to the ups and downs of values (see fig.1:18), and the locational variations and time of ownership, which will give a varied rate of return if taken into account.¹ What this present research contends is the need for greater sensitivity to the implications of the changing ownership structure and physical form associated with high density residential patterns that are now increasingly becoming the 'norm'. Residential consents for new dwellings and units in Christchurch since 1992 (see fig.2:19) show clearly the need to consider the implications of either the cross-lease ownership structure (ref.p.60) or the unit title structure of apartments (ref.pp.138-140) that apply to what the City Council defines as units.

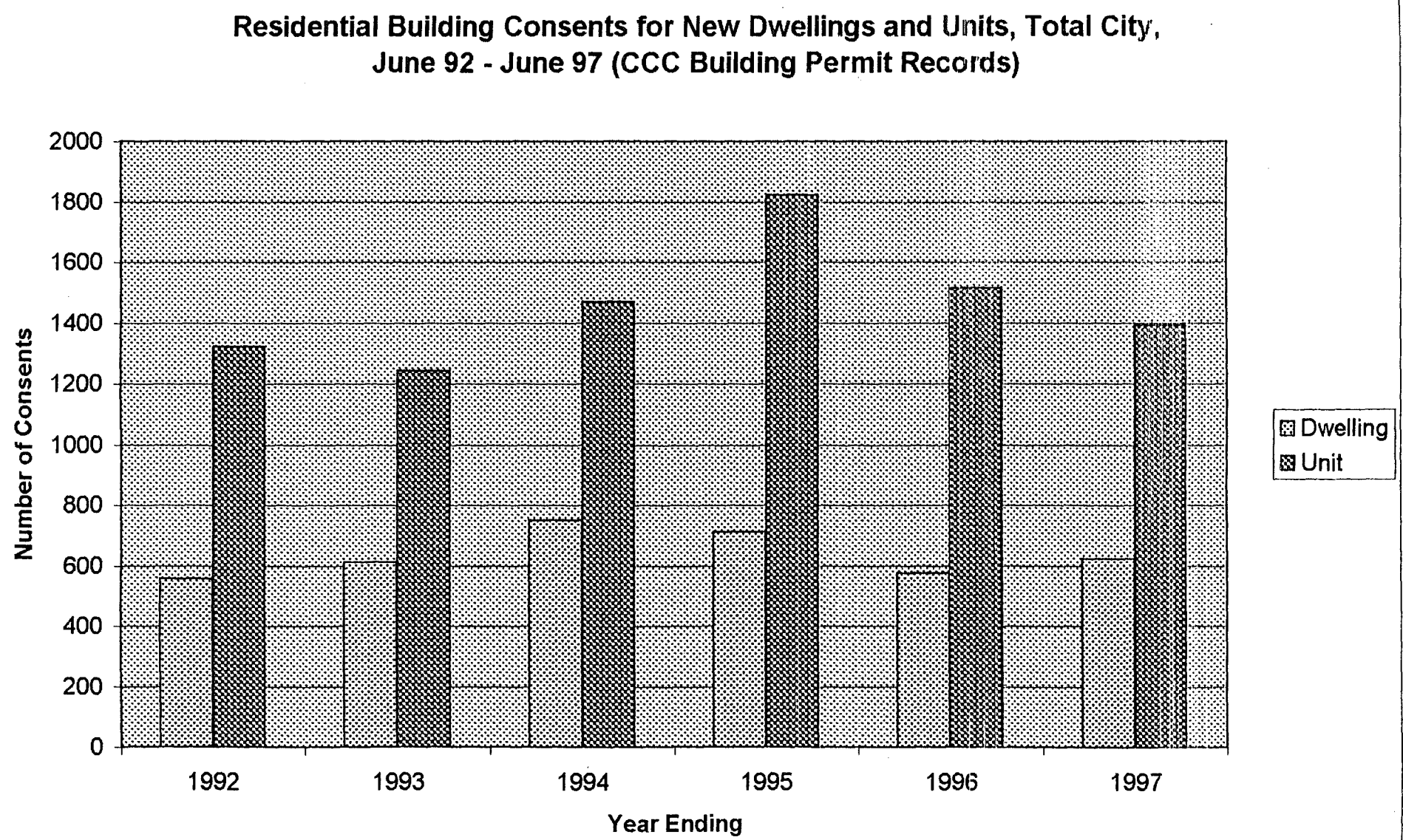
¹ see Thorns 1992, Ch. 'Home ownership and Consumption Sectors'. :209-246. Research shows the rates of return on residential property in Christchurch has been shaped by local contexts, policies adopted and the structure of the financial sectors. The 1972-74 increase in property values resulted from high commodity prices, immigration, and shortages. By the late 70's higher inflation, falling incomes and increasing interests rates resulted in a falling rate of increase. The next increase was after deregulation in 1984 but after the crash in 1987 prices leveled off and only started to recover in the late 1980's. Household affordability will vary also because of changing household earning capacity. Variations have also been reflected by intra-urban variations with the inner city areas in the 1960's showing low investment return as the suburbs were enjoying a boom time of growth because of immigration and the mortgage structure which favoured new houses. These conditions changed in the 1980's as gentrification took place. As the composition of the areas changed they received increased public funding to improve their infrastructure which increased their desirability, further increasing pressures. (:234). The impact of gentrification in the 1980's in the inner city suburbs show a 19.7% overall increase, which is much higher than the middle ring of suburbs which had a 7% increase (:237). The outer suburbs show a very low rate or decline. The gendered difference in access to housing is complex but is in part a reflection of different earning capacities. Particularly lone parents. The most assured route to wealth accumulation from housing is by taking and retaining a partner; this accounted for 90% of men and 87% of women owners in an Australian study (Smith 1989b) ;: 243. The last two decades have shown great returns to home owners, however rates are not uniform but depend on place and time, ethnic group and gender, rather than being uniform across the tenure category.: 244. This shows a greater fragmentation than Saunder's original discussion accepts.



Dupuis and Thorns' research considered the variation in the meanings of home that arise from age, but it did highlight the fact that other factors like gender, ethnicity, and class are also likely to impact on the way in which home is understood.² By acknowledging that meanings of home are not invariant, they choose the concept of a particular 'layer', rather than a particular generation, to apply to their sample of older participants. This was done to allow for fluidity and differentiation, thus acknowledging that the experiences of

² The research into the meaning of home arose during the course of a larger piece of research designed to examine aspects of housing wealth inheritance in New Zealand (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996). It drew on interview data from a subsample of housing inheritors, which in almost all cases was a surviving spouse. 53 in-depth interviews were carried out. Six respondents were under 60 and of the 53 respondents 41 were women, reflecting the statistical fact that the male partner of a married couple dies first. The years in which almost all respondents became homeowners were immediately following the Depression until the 1960's. They therefore represent a 'layer' of the population profoundly affected by the economic destruction of the 1930's. Unemployment at its worst is quoted at close to 40% of all male workers aged between 16 and 45. It also needs to be understood that this figure was in fact a lot worse as, reflecting the gender bias of statistical data and attitudes of the time, these figures did not include figures of female unemployment.

**Figure 2: Residential Building Consents Christchurch:
Dwellings/Units. 1992-1997**



people born in the same year or decade can be quite different depending on a range of factors, including gender, ethnicity and class. As they have suggested such variations have tended to be given scant attention in the debate about intergenerational experiences of home and housing wealth accumulation.

It is the context in which people actively seek ontological security that must be understood. Research, such as that done by Saunders, and Dupuis and Thorns, suggests that ownership has a lot to do with this. Within the New Zealand context research has shown how elderly New Zealanders' sense of home has been shaped by the insecurity resulting from the Depression '....that, as time went on, has taken on near mythical proportions.' With the Labour Government taking power in 1935 '...the home became the symbol of continuity, reliability and constancy: all features of human existence that were undermined in the Depression. It also became the spatial context in which the routines of daily life were carried out, as well as a solid base from which feelings of identity could flourish' (1998:42). These older people did have a sense that change was occurring, with the interpretation made that the next generation would be much less committed to the home as the site of their ontological security.

The analysis offered by Dupuis and Thorns is that Giddens' argument of the undermining of the possibilities through which ontological security can be attained by the rapidly changing nature of the modern world, has an anti-urban tone. 'It sounds very much like an alternative rendition of Simmel's claim of the modern metropolis as characterized by indifference, the blasé attitude and individualism' (1998: 28).

With a greater understanding of the manner in which we seek this sense of ontological security through our homes I believe that to emphasize personal ties and face to face contact need not necessarily be considered 'anti-urban'. An assumption that a rapidly changing world has undermined the possibilities through which ontological security can be obtained needs however to be reconceived. What needs to be taken greater account of is the relationship between the social and spatial aspects of housing. Then it can be shown that both the 'natural' and the 'created' world are implicitly involved in the process.

Individuals actively seek a sense of ontological security in their lives and they will do this

in part by their choice of residency and for many this will be in a far more densely urbanised setting.

It is my argument that, in New Zealand society, intensification of urban forms and activities has provided new residents of the inner city with an environment that has been conducive to an enhanced sense of ontological security. For the majority of participants in this study inner city living has involved significantly greater face-to-face contact than they experienced in the suburbs and as the public/private boundaries which surround their homes has shifted due to shared management structures and shared spaces, the personal relationships engaged in have altered. In analysis, as in planning, there needs to be far greater awareness and sensitivity to the positive and negative aspects of these changes for residents. In a sense the move to inner city apartments vindicates Giddens' argument that there is a need for face to face contact as ontological security has to be actively ground in personal ties with others. As society has changed so too will personal relationships, reflecting and influencing those societal changes. Residential forms will influence and be influenced by these changes. It is important to know how.

As Saunders and Williams stated in their paper our homes are much more than a 'private sphere', or 'passive container'. They are a setting within which a 'whole set of processes and meanings are being perpetually formed and restructured' (1988:91). In spite of their contention that it is one of the most basic institutions in contemporary western societies, the 'engine room of our society', they acknowledge that at a time of rapid change we are surprisingly ignorant of the role that the home plays in our lives. A useful way to attempt to understand this setting is by applying the concept of residence to our notion of the concept home (Kemeny, 1992).

As Kemeny describes it a residence is comprised of the social dimension, at both the individual and social group level, and the spatial dimension, at the dwelling and neighbourhood, extending to a city and national level. He applies the concept of residence in an endeavor to capture the broader social issues of housing. He argues that this avoids the tendency to define housing as merely a 'bricks and mortar' matter, or to focus away from the dwelling to the households which inhabit them, leading to an

analysis that lacks sufficient regard for locational factors and the links with the wider social structure. It highlights the social organisation of housing both in terms of its location and its form, and the interplay between these. Residence as a dimension of social structure can thereby be seen as a key dimension of the social organisation of modern society (1992 :9-11). This will avoid a tendency for ‘...housing to be researched in abstraction from other dimensions of social structure in much the same way as classical economists argued was the case for the market’ (Kemeny:1992:155).³

As Kemeny states where we live is such a defining feature of the everyday life of household members and is such a major dimension of society that it is important to resolve an underlying problem of housing research. This is the tension between concepts of dwelling and households that has produced what he believes is an unclear and shifting substantive focus. In his critique of what he regards as Saunders and Williams’ oversocialised conception of housing⁴, in which the physical dwelling loses significance, Kemeny claims,

The home cannot be understood except as a product of the social organization of the household in relation to the dwelling as a spatial reflection of that organization and the limitations that this places on, and the possibilities that it opens up for, household members, activities and relationships (1992:158).

³ Kemeny also suggests a need “to integrate the concept of hegemony with myth-building in public policy, based on a constructivist analysis which relates the societal scale processes of change to micro and meso processes of the negotiated order.” (:105). Kemeny uses this approach to examine the way in which privatized and collectivist ideologies influence social structure and how residence comprises the key dimension by which it can be understood (:106-7). Focusing on differing degrees of collectivism and privatism in his development of a thesis of divergent social structures Kemeny highlights the differences of dwelling type in Britain, Sweden and Australia. The overwhelming majority of dwellings in Australia are houses, mostly bungalows on 1/4-acre lots, while the overwhelming majority in Swedish cities is flats. Britain has 45% of Greater London comprising flats. London houses are mainly semi-detached. The contrast in city housing is clear, and it is an analysis that has obvious relevancy to a New Zealand study. The difference in the socio-spatial organization of the cities is marked and has profound effects on the balance of public/private space, transport, and domestic and wage-labour female roles. (:124).

⁴ Here Kemeny applies Granovetter’s analysis of the economy. An undersocialised view of the economy regards the market as largely driven by its own rules of rationality with social and cultural factors being extraneous and gradually disappearing as perfect competition develops. An oversocialised view would regard the economy as being determined by social relations and lacking autonomy ([1985]. Granovetter claims economies can be better understood as being *embedded* in social structure. ‘...behaviour and institutions – in markets or indeed in any form of social organisation – must be understood as being located in broader social networks of sociability, approval, status and power.’ (Kemeny 1992:154).

The usefulness of the term residence when applied to an analysis of our home living environments is in its ability to clarify or highlight the comprehensive and complex nature of that very much taken-for-granted term, 'home'. Kemeny's example of the problems encountered in housing studies include the complex nature of often taken-for-granted concepts such as household and dwelling that can be complex and ambiguous. As he says the ambiguities of the concept 'dwelling' are compounded by the ambiguities inherent in the definitions of a household, and when these concepts are used to build 'second-order' concepts such as forms of tenure they are further compounded (1988:24). The experience of gathering quantitative data for this research confirms the need to clarify concepts and also to be aware of the way in which ambiguities are reflected in the unreliability of some statistical data.⁵ When combined with qualitative data on the subject

⁵ In the process of researching some aspects of the changing residential patterns in Christchurch a number of discrepancies regarding definitions of residential types has been recorded. Data collected from Valuation New Zealand, Statistics New Zealand and Christchurch City Council's Environmental Policy and Planning Unit was collated using different definitions of residential types. In the case of Valuation New Zealand their data refer to Sale Group Areas which do not necessarily correspond to Statistical Area Units, as used by Statistics New Zealand and the City Council, although they in fact may use the same name. My experience suggests that if the exact nature of a residential building is important to a research outcome extra care needs to be taken when analysing, or comparing, data which is defining residential types and city areas. To obtain official definitions of types has not been a simple matter, and the response from different personnel suggests these can be subjective in nature. My observation is that the ability of the bureaucracy to acknowledge the changing patterns of the residential housing market has not kept up with physical realities of that market.

Definitions:

Valuation New Zealand

<u>House:</u>	Residential, separate dwelling.
<u>Ownership Flat:</u>	Attached dwelling, separate title.
<u>Rental Flat:</u>	Blocks of flats, rented.
<u>House converted to Flats:</u>	
<u>R.D. Alpha assessments:</u>	Cross-leased Townhouses, joint owned land with stand-alone dwelling on one site.
<u>Vacant Residential:</u>	Vacant residential land.

C.C.C., Environmental Policy and Planning

<u>Dwelling:</u>	Single residential house on one site.
<u>Unit:</u>	More than one residential unit on one site, attached or not.

Statistics New Zealand

Building Consent Data

Statistics NZ collate their building consent data from information supplied by the C.C.C. This is raw data of building consent applications with building types defined by the applicant. The Council's data is collated after a physical check on site, consequently a note from the council was that Stats NZ definitions differ from their own but the totals are reasonably accurate but the Dwelling/Unit Breakdown is not. !

<u>House:</u>	Anything called a dwelling.
<u>Flat:</u>	An attached dwelling, although before June 1996 a Town House was called a House, and now it is called a Flat.

of home these ambiguities are compounded further. When even 'authoritative' sources of information have difficulty clarifying definitions care needs to be taken when interpreting meanings and references made by all participants.

Homes play such a pervasive part in social life, and the term home is in such common usage, with such strong personal individualistic meanings, that this will tend to obscure the links between individual actions and feelings, and structural forces. The nature of our homes becomes part of our everyday world, the fundamental realities within which most people live. 'Consciousness of that world is characterized by the 'natural attitude' which takes the world as natural, constant and pre given' (Abercrombie, et al, 1984:44).

This attitude links well with individualistic notions on which the 'free market' is based as the tendency to incorporate these principles into all facets of social, political and economic life in New Zealand has gathered momentum since 1984. The 'logical' emphasis that can be made on the premise of this individualistic approach is that structures are not seen as determining. Individuals have the capacity to act independently of structural constraints. Human agency will always be dominant over structure.

To study our homes within their wider context, conceptualized as a residence, is to make plain that a focus only on agency will provide an incomplete description and explanation of social phenomena or physical realities. The same would apply if the focus was only on structure as determining individual action. Our residential patterns and sense of place in the past and the present, are the result of '...ongoing relationships between individuals, society, practice and structure, occurring in historically specific situations.' (Perkins, 1989:62). This structurationist theory, developed by Anthony Giddens, has as its central tenet the duality rather than the dualism of structure. '...[T]he structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize.' (Giddens, 1984, in Franklin, 1990). In his consideration of space Giddens emphasises not just the local area but the house where people live, '...as this constitutes the territorial

core of their lives where large clusters of interaction are shaped each day through interpersonal relationships' (1981, 1984, in Thorns, 1992:248). The term residence seems to encompass this idea of a 'territorial core' with greater sensitivity to context than the common sense, personalised term home. It is the meanings that people attach to home that are the focus but for analytical purposes home needs to be understood and explained in its wider context, as a residence.

What is crucial, and what this present research wishes to emphasize, is that to understand the meanings we attach to our homes and the significance of them in our lives, it is essential that our descriptions and explanations clearly situate the concept of home in its wider social context. The appeal of applying the term residency to a study of changing residential patterns and how these relate to the meaning we attach to our homes, is the potential of the term to draw attention to the extent to which our notions of home are a social construct. In the context of this research therefore a residence is a home, but a home understood within its wider social context.

That wider social context will be analysed by examining the economic and political influences that have shaped the societal reality of our residential patterns and our notions of home. A focus on the physical or material reality of Christchurch, specifically the inner city area, and the various interest groups that are presently involved in shaping urban developments there, will provide an example of the effects of present influences. Within this context the motivations, expectations and realities of residents in the new inner city apartments can be analysed.

The starting point for this study is the realisation that the meanings people attach to their homes will be changing, complex, and diverse, with much depending on the context in which homes have been acquired. What therefore follows is the need to appreciate the concept of home as a social construct.⁶ Its symbolic meaning will vary therefore it is

⁶ Refer to Perkins (1989:62) who describes an important element in the process of developing a meaning of place is the hegemonic nature of the values underlying specific place meanings and their role in the management of places. Hegemony is defined by Williams as '...a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living...It is a lived system of meanings and values – constitutive and

important to analyse what the home means to different people and attempt to explain the range of different meanings that are found.

Ideological discourses in this country have adopted the Anglo-Saxons' Romantic ideal of home being associated with an isolated structure surrounded by nature. (see Williams, 1973, in Depres, 1991:104) New Zealand has a long history of support for the concept of home ownership, with clear policy initiatives designed for this purpose. Along with architectural discourses inspired by the Romantic philosophy, the suburban stand-alone family home became entrenched as the ideal image of home.⁷ This ideal was promoted by the capitalist promotional discourse which had a very influential effect on the way New Zealanders defined the meaning of home. The pursuit of happiness through domestic consumption was centered on the family home and this has tended to support the patriarchal and capitalist status quo. Associated with the ideology of the ideal home and ownership structure is the ideology of the 'traditional' heterosexual two-parent family that forced women's economic dependence upon their husbands and resulted in women remaining subject to men at home as well as at work. The reasons behind the intense interest in the ideological construct of our homes by feminists are clear.⁸ Residential

constituting – which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming.' (1977, 110-113, in Perkins, 1989:62)

⁷ See also De Neufville and Barton's analysis of myths and the definition of public policy, using home ownership and public-private partnerships to explore how tradition and taken for granted knowledge can provide intense support but also divert attention from '... intractable issues, uncomfortable realities, and discrepancies between public values and actual conditions,' (1987:183). The American example used the myth of the yeoman farmer, self-sufficient, close to purifying nature, independent, responsible, economically productive and morally respectable, has parallels with the context in which New Zealand home ownership has developed. They quote research that shows problems resulting from attempts to create, in housing with shared walls, land and public space, a continuity with the myth of the independent farmer. Residents have difficulty making sense of the new balance between their property rights and their community responsibilities. (Silverman and Barton, 1984, 1986, in De Neufville and Barton, 1987:191). It is their belief that the myth of home ownership has created such a strong belief that to stretch it to include owners of apartments may have gone too far as it is dysfunctional as a guiding concept for those owners. It says nothing about how to manage collectively units with shared space, and is itself a source of confusion and conflict (:199). This study provides evidence of confusion and conflict, but also empowerment for residence as a result of the changed ownership structure. This is why in a climate of increasing residential densities it is necessary to understand and acknowledge these phenomena.

⁸ For example see the work of Susan Hanson and Geraldine Pratt (1995) which looks at how boundaries get constructed between men and women and among women in different neighbourhoods. Also Damaris Rose (1989) who critiques the consumer-sovereignty orientation focus on lifestyles reshaping consumer demand and city reinvestment, and the neo-Marxist inspired work of David Harvey on urban land values which insisted on primacy of economic forces shaping the historic change in land values. Dissatisfaction with such dichotomous orientations resulted in a focus on the interaction of production and consumption, and a

patterns have reinforced an ideology of domesticity as women have been relocated to the private sphere, and although gender roles are shifting it is still women who do the bulk of domestic work.⁹ Sensitivity to the way in which design can trap all people in existing roles is called for.

Ownership is central to an analysis of the meaning of home in New Zealand but it needs to be understood in terms of the wider social structure. This study of the move to inner city apartments provides an insight into the meanings associated with the concept of home for a group of New Zealanders distinguished by the style and location of residency. By their choice of home they have set themselves apart from the commonly perceived notion of the ideal New Zealand home. The dominance of an Anglo-Saxon cultural heritage in New Zealand is represented by a physical ideal of the detached house, and a legal ideal of owner-occupation, 'both of which emphasise household autonomy and both of which represent a stout defiance of collectivism' (Saunders & Williams, 1988, :88). This 1988 British study supports findings of studies in the United States which found that home ownership and single-family detached housing were the two most powerful cultural norms for housing in the U.S. (Crull, 1987; Dillman, Tremblay & Dillman, 1979, in Depres, 1991:105).

The strength of the accepted idea of what constitutes an ideal home makes it likely

concern with demographic trends, women's labour force activities and effects on family members and household structures '...which are not reducible to the economic.' (130-131). The work of Dolores Hayden (1980) links the privatised world of women to consumption, capitalism, appliance production and the advertising industry, and E Harman (1983) analyses the reality of city forms and the theories which describe them. Proposals to deal with the many contradictions apparent between evolving policies and the suitability of the built city are described as still being designed around residential areas to facilitate women's traditional domestic role. Doreen Massey's work (1994) demonstrates not only how spatial control is a fundamental element in the construction of gender, but also the significance of gender on the geographic construction of space and place. Iris Marion Young's work (1997) reflects on developments within feminist urban theory and the ambiguities that need to be addressed surrounding the negativity and/or empowerment of the concept home. (See chapter seven)

⁹ See Beckett, 1997, for an analysis of patterns of housework in New Zealand in the 1990's. Her research discovered that in the 1990's women continue to carry an unfair and inequitable burden of unpaid work in the home, often with devastating consequences for themselves and their families. Although 64% of women work outside the home for every one hour a man spends doing housework a woman will do two. As she states at the core of the problem is a woman's ability to make housework invisible and the assumption that all the work is theirs. Her timely advice was women 'must approach sharing housework with the knowledge your life has as much meaning as his.'

therefore that the move to an inner city apartment represents a significant shift in how some people are coming to regard their homes. The moral, professional, political, and economic discourses in this country have all promoted the building and ownership of stand-alone, single-family suburban homes. For a group of people to now choose a very different style and location of residency is therefore of interest as it is acknowledged '...that the strength of the accepted ideology as to what constitutes a 'home' makes it very difficult for individuals to express contrary associations' (Sixsmith & Sixsmith, 1990, in Munro and Madigan, 1993:30).

A focus on this group of residents is useful to highlight how matters become associated with meanings of home and how these meanings may be changing. This will include an investigation of how societal constraints impact on the way meanings of home are constructed. These will be directly related to tenure but also will have a great deal to do with the physical characteristics of the residence and the ideological constructs of family and gender roles and the place of the home in these. The physical nature of the inner city apartment has a significant bearing on the social, legal, economic and cultural implications of the home.

The intent of this present research therefore is to integrate perspectives that include an understanding of the home as a societal entity influenced by political and economic forces, a material reality, and as a perceived and experienced reality. This approach acknowledges the importance of fully accounting for context as meanings of home are formed and analysed. It highlights the need to appreciate how both agency and structure are involved in the production of spatial phenomena and forms. The interrelated meshing of cultural, political, and economic forces surrounding places cannot be specified by the reductionist arguments of either Marxian political economy or mainstream ecologists (Gottdiener, 1985:198). It is '...ongoing relationships between individuals, society, practice and structure, occurring in historically specific situations' (Perkins, 1989:62) that produce our sense of place. It is this structurationist perspective, developed by Anthony Giddens, that has the potential to explain what otherwise can be a less than informative description of social phenomena. By definition a study that applies the concept of ontological security to its analysis demands it.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3. a: ETHNOGRAPHY

I have utilised an ethnographic methodology for this study. Ethnography can be described as involving a mix of observation, documentation and interviewing, with an emphasis on 'depth' and 'intensity', in 'natural settings' and with an understanding of the 'symbolic world' (Gilbert 1994:155). As McCall & Simmons explain it includes:

...some amount of genuinely social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observation of relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some collection of documents and artifacts; and open-endedness in the direction the study takes (McCall and Simmons, 1969:1, in Gilbert 1994:157).

I have drawn from Adrian Franklin's paper 'Ethnography and Housing Studies' (1990) to provide the rationale for my ethnographic approach. Franklin's 1990 research explored how people became homeowners, how decisions and strategies are made, and the social networks in which they occurred. She realised that when respondents' rationalisation of action is given it may seem self-contained but it does not necessarily tell us why they came to that point of view and how such views are confirmed or reproduced. She has utilised the work of Giddens to attempt, '...to penetrate and organise this knowledge by working with the respondents and producing accounts which pave their knowledge in an explanatory form' (Franklin, 1990:101).

The central dictum of Anthony Giddens' recent work is the duality rather than the dualism of structure; it is always both constraining and enabling. In his 'structuration' theory the '..constitution of individual practices in time and space, their

knowledgeability, their practical consciousness, their rationalisation of action and the routine nature of their day to day life are critical because the central problem is to understand how social problems are reproduced, modified and changed.' (1976, 1984, in Franklin, 1990:98).

The demand for more ethnographic styled housing research is said to have its origins in a number of theoretical initiatives that attempted to free structuralism of its objectivism, its economic determinism, and its inherent functionalism. Individuals and social groups do not merely, '...reflect or carry social structure. [but] ...are able to set down their own conditions, make choices between alternative options, and shift the direction of history in one direction, not another' (Franklin, 1990:97). A study that centres on real life relations of specific people over various spatial areas and set within an historic context can help provide an explanation and description of different opportunities and alternatives, and why particular actions are taken. When considering the relationship between structure and agency ethnographic methods allow the examination of actual connections between people and broader socio-economic structures. It involves the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data, in what Giddens (1984) calls 'thick description' (Franklin, 1990:93).

3. b: DEFINITIONS

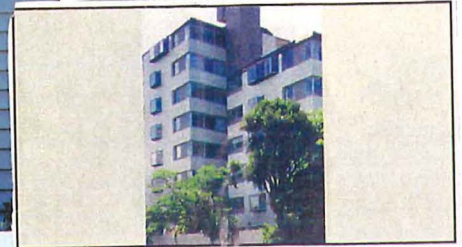
For the purposes of this study an apartment is defined as any residential unit that shares a common surface with another residential unit. That surface might be an adjoining wall, floor or ceiling. This definition therefore covers complexes of single-attached units, low-rise units (3-5 stories), and high-rise units (6 stories +). A townhouse is any residential

APARTMENT TYPES

31



HIGH-RISE UNITS

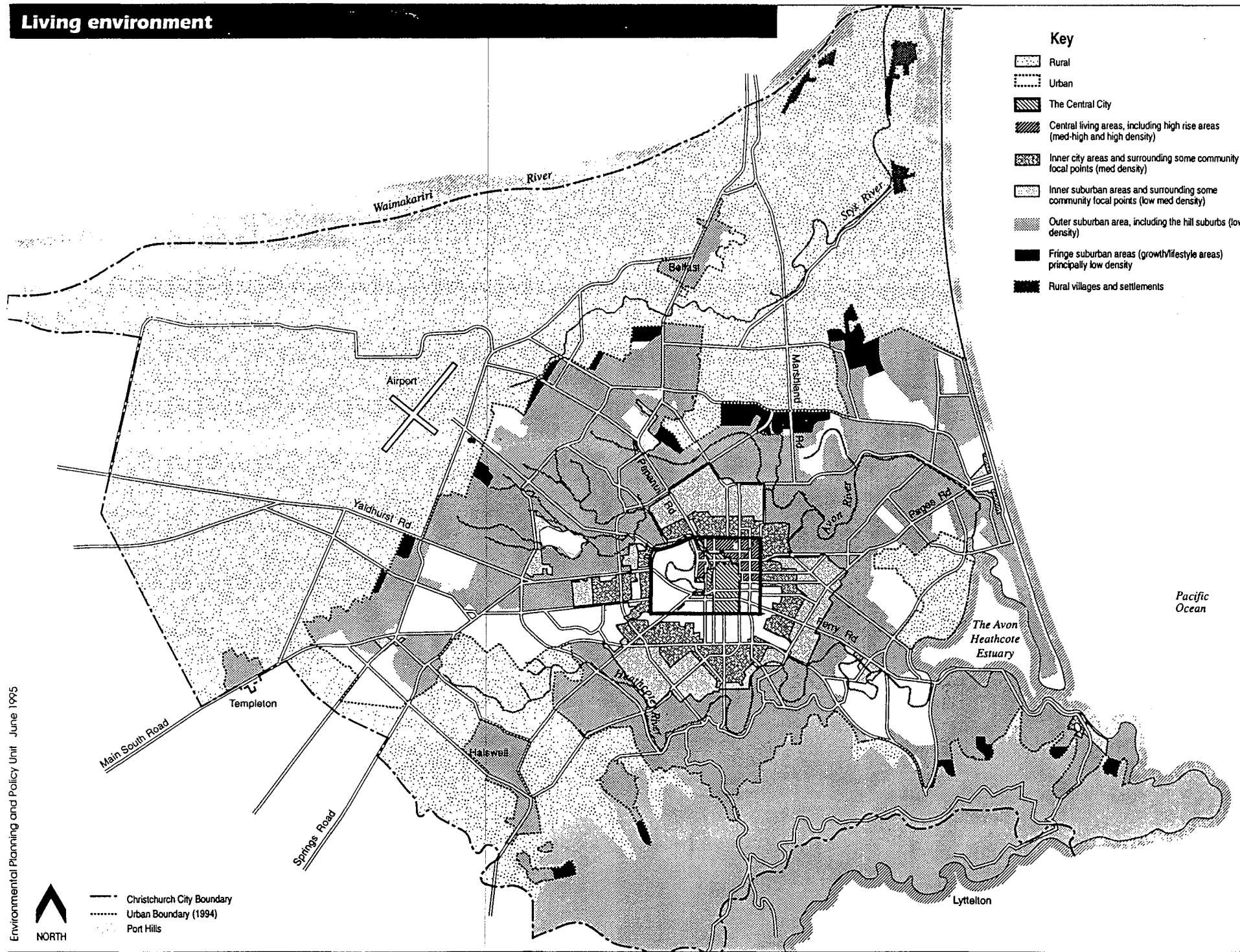


LOW-RISE UNITS



SINGLE ATTACHED UNITS





CHRISTCHURCH CITY BOUNDARIES

unit, detached but on a shared land title. A house is a residential unit, detached and on its own separately titled land area. The inner city area of Christchurch is defined as all the land area within the 'four avenues' of Christchurch: that is Bealey Ave, Fitzgerald Ave, Moorhouse Ave, and Deans Ave. This comprises the Statistics New Zealand Area Units No. 52 (Cathedral Square), No.53 (Hagley Park), and No. 54 (Avon Loop)[see map, page 32].

3. c: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DATA.

My literature review has included: material concerning housing studies; urban theory and feminist urban theory; meanings of home including previous research into the meaning and boundaries of our 'homes' and the debates surrounding the principles on which they are based; the historical development of New Zealand's housing policy and New Zealand's recent housing policies and planning developments; and the social and economic restructuring process.

Statistical data have been gathered from: Valuation New Zealand; Statistics New Zealand Supermap and publications; local government urban planning documents such as the City Plan and submissions to that plan, Annual Plans, residential policy reviews and demographic and housing data from the Information and Monitoring section of the Environmental Policy and Planning department of the Christchurch City Council; plus a range of documentary and archival sources.

Texts, journals and the print media have also been valuable sources of primary and secondary data. From this material I developed my theoretical framework, methodological approach, and was able to collect the substantive material required to contextualise the experience of participants now residing in the inner city area.

3. d: PROCESS

Having received approval for my project from the Human Ethics Committee of the University of Canterbury and following a review of the extensive amount

of quantitative data generated from my research, I was able to proceed to the interviewing stage of my study. This involved identifying and approaching personnel who have an input into and/or knowledge of areas such as, planning strategies of Council as elected or employed members of the Christchurch City Council and the Regional Council, the legal framework of planning provision and appeals, financial provision, architectural input, construction techniques, property development priorities, marketing and real estate involvement. Sixteen in-depth interviews were conducted. Some of these were audiotaped and later transcribed.

Many other inquiries and observations in the field led to contact and conversations with a range of people with an interest or involvement in this area. Field notes were taken. I contacted a number of residents' groups of the central city area and from contacts made in this process of data gathering, and from personal contacts, I was able to develop a list of residents to approach. The generosity and willingness of individuals, either in a professional or in a private capacity, to participate in this research was most gratifying. Interviews with a sample of residents representing different age groups, gender, and family types, and from a variety of locations within the inner city, were arranged. With the approval of participants these interviews were audio taped and later transcribed. Where I have incorporated direct quotations from my participants, for clarity and emphasis, I have at times found it necessary to reorder the sequence, and occasionally paraphrase, some responses. At all times my first priority has been to retain what I have interpreted as the genuine understanding of events from the participants' perspective. What must be acknowledged however is the subjective nature of all scientific research. The subjectivity of any research needs to be accounted for as analysis of results is made, and the evidence on which the argument is based is judged. Responsibility for the interpretation of events and responses from participants, the choice of examples and emphasis of material, and the theoretical framework and resulting analysis is accepted by the author.

Thirty residents of inner city apartments were interviewed for this study. Of this number three were in the 30-39 age group; six in the 40-49 age group; twelve in the 50-59 age

group; four in the 60-69 age group; four in the 70-79 age group and one in the 80-89 age group. The sample was comprised of seventeen females and thirteen males; eight had dependent children living with them; four were divorced and living alone; two were widowed and living alone; three were single; three were living with partners; and eighteen were living with their spouses. Six were living in high-rise apartments; four in low-rise apartments and twenty were in single/attached units. Twenty-three of the sample were in the present work force, either part time or full time. With the exception of one couple who were long-term tenants, all residents were owner-occupiers. With the exception of one other, all had owned homes before purchasing in the inner city, and the majority had moved from a suburban stand-alone home. Many had experienced inner city living overseas, or in another unit in the inner city of Christchurch.

I have used the opportunity of 'open-days' arranged by real estate agents to visit a large number of new and occupied inner-city apartments. Apart from giving me a greater feel for the spatial qualities of the apartments contact was often made with personnel in the real estate industry, prospective purchasers of apartments, or existing residents.

I attended several public meetings held throughout the year that have addressed the issue of inner city development from very different perspectives. These have included: a seminar on 'Inner-City Living and Investment' held by two Real Estate firms involved in a new city development, and addressed by Dr Dolf de Roos (author of *The New Zealand Investor's Guide To Making Money in Residential Real Estate*); the public forum 'Whose Community is it Anyway?', organised by Inner-City East Housing Coalition and sponsored by the Te Whare Roimata, Corso, Community Law Centre, and the Council of Social Services, where the problems of development in the eastern side of the city were discussed; and the meeting 'Inner City In-fill: The Good, The Bad, & The Loss of Character', organised by the inner city residents group, ICON, and addressed by a representative from the Christchurch City Council, a representative from the Victoria Neighbourhood Committee and Ian Athfield, a prominent architect. I also attended an educational seminar held by the New Zealand Institute Of Architecture, 'The RMA: 6 Years On', concerning the architect's role in the management of projects in the climate created by the requirements of the RMA. From an initial analysis of my interviews and

data collection I was able to identify significant areas of concern, emphasis, and/or cause and effect. The analysis that followed is organised into the three substantive chapters of this study: Chapter 4, Home as Societal Reality; Chapter 5, The Inner City Apartment as a Material Reality; Chapter 6, The Inner City Apartment as a Perceived and Experienced Reality. This division has provided the structure for the analysis, with the links that can be made between each subject area being the real task of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOME AS A SOCIETAL REALITY

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FORCES THAT HAVE SHAPED RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS AND NEW ZEALANDERS' CONCEPTS OF HOME

4. a: INTRODUCTION

To understand and explain the significance of what people tell us about their inner city homes requires not only a comparative analysis of the physical nature of the residence, but an examination of the societal forces that have helped shape, maintain, and change residential forms. As a review of New Zealand's housing history demonstrates societal forces have clearly impacted on the physical shape of urban environments. These political and economic factors need to be taken into account as it is from the resulting residential forms that the majority of participants of this study have moved and where they have had the meanings they attach to their homes shaped. As Saunders and Williams (1988) have argued the meaning of home reflects the society around it. Therefore, as residential patterns change, we need to take care to incorporate a comprehensive analysis of issues surrounding these changes. What can be shown to be a social construct can then be understood as also being capable of being changed by shifts in those same forces. The complex and contingent nature of residential patterns globally illustrates the importance of recognising the physical aspects of our residences, and that our concept of home is not static but something that is always evolving.

This section will provide a brief chronological review of the political and economic forces that shaped residential patterns throughout New Zealand's history. A view with hindsight will help expose the forces behind the course of development that can be obscured as day-to-day activities are engaged in. Then it can be shown that our homes, just like the individuals who reside in them, need to be understood as '...minute points of the intersections of biography [or geography] and history within society' (Mills, 1954:1).

4. b: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

A chronological history of our housing policy clearly shows a dominant theme of the rise and fall of government support for the dream of the suburban family home and secondly the slow development and sudden demise of direct housing assistance for those living outside the dream (Ferguson, 1994:9). The issues surrounding these developments that are particularly relevant to this study concern the relationships between gender, capitalism and spatial forms.

Typifying the nineteenth century pattern of colonisation in New Zealand, Edward Gibbon Wakefield planned a systematic settlement for Canterbury. Acting before the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Wakefield's advice, supported by deed, was to 'Possess yourselves of the soil and you are secure' (Leach and Leach, in Oliver & Williams, 1981:51). This frontier ideology, and association with land and land ownership has been an enduring ideal in New Zealand. Since the time of European settlement New Zealand's housing history has reflected a cultural heritage represented by a physical ideal of the detached house, and a legal ideal of private ownership, '...both of which emphasise household autonomy, and both of which represent a stout defiance of collectivism.' (Saunders & Williams, 1988:88). The rigorous pursuit of both ideals has been sanctioned for varying motives by New Zealand governments, reformers, town-planners, and developers. As the following analysis will show the combined interests of these influential groups was powerful and successful.

By 1890, after fifty years of colonisation, the lack of state intervention in both the consumption and production of housing was changing. The government had countered the economic slump that followed the decline in gold exports in the mid 1870's (Oliver & Williams, 1988:70), with increased public works expenditure and an ambitious immigration program. With the growth of the manufacturing sector at this time, and with the associated increase in urbanisation, an interest in the role of the nuclear family, both

as a source of stability and the means of producing labour, developed (Olssen and Levesque 1978, in Pawson 1987:123). Increases in population had resulted in an urgent need for housing, and Government policies, such as the Advance to Settlers Act, 1894 which was designed for settlers to acquire land, now also supported urban home ownership.

In the conditions established by the legal frameworks which had been set in place, resulting in the alienation and confiscation of Maori land, and the colonial ideology which celebrated the possibility of owning land (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996:490), home ownership flourished. The liberal policies of the Liberal government of 1890 had also resulted in welfare provisions that firmly established the model of the nuclear family, with gender roles increasingly polarised. The centrality of the home in this new social order was promoted in a series of housing measures from 1900 onwards (Thorns, 1984, in Pawson 1987:124). With the passing of the Workers' Dwelling Act of 1905 and the Advances to Workers Act 1906, home ownership was institutionalised into the legal framework and the dominant New Zealand ethos. A pattern of very high owner occupation rates remains up until the present day as 67.7% of all New Zealanders now own their own homes. (Statistics New Zealand, census data, 1996). By 1916 this rate was 53% compared to Britain in the same year where less than 10% of the population owned their own homes (Pawson 1987:124).

The family home was regarded as the goal for working men and their families. These measures were also informed by a fear of diseases following the bubonic outbreak in the early 1900's and a belief in the positive association between home ownership and social order. Memories of social and cultural conditions, which arrived with the European immigrants in the nineteenth century, helped shape these policies. The Romantic Movement had turned attention from the city, as the center of human endeavour, to a worship of nature and an associated fear of the city and city life. A belief in the individual as the basis for social organisation and the right of individuals to pursue their destiny with as few constraints as possible helped form the base of the popular ideology of the day.

Following the demise of the Provincial Governments in the 1870's, and their replacement with local and special purpose authorities, cities had limited powers to regulate building and promote public health and safety. With the business sector gaining influence local urban development was left to the speculative tendencies of the private sector. As Kilmartin and Thorns state '...the very shape of cities in...New Zealand [has] resulted directly from an individualistic, capitalist ethic ' (1978:40, in Memon & Perkins et al 1993:14).

The motives behind state housing policy were explicitly expressed by Premier Seddon who is quoted as describing low cost housing schemes as being designed to ease pressure for higher wages and so give 'relief to the capitalist' (Hargreaves, Hearn and Little 1985:50, in Pawson 1987:124). The Parliamentary debate on the 1919 Housing Bill reflected this view. 'The man who has a stake in the country, will usually take a sane view of things and will not be in the same danger of running to extremes...' (PD 1991: 185, 372-3, in Pawson 1987:124). The state by 1921 was funding 90% of new houses, and following the Depression, the Labour Government of 1935 was to use housing as a central part of the re-establishment of a sound economy. Under Labour, from 1935-49, the view that housing quality was more important than tenure took precedence and the Department of Housing, linked with the Ministry of Works, was actively involved in improving the rate of building.

4. c : SUBURBIA AND THE 'CULT OF DOMESTICITY'

Suburban forms had become predominantly the result of state planning. Private enterprise was nurtured by the state and state housing produced low-cost suburbs with the suburban house becoming the focus of the consumer society (Oliver, 1981:405). The associated increase in demand for home appliances and other household items was seen to be part of the support for conditions favourable for the growth of capital and industry. This argument formed the base of political economy theories, such as that developed by

Castells in the 1960's. He described the shape of cities as being determined 'by the wider needs of society and the broad economic processes of capitalism and the processes of consumption...' (Thorns, D., in Spoonley, P. 1994 :49).¹⁰ The government, as land developers, on-sold to private group builders such as Fletchers and Meritt Beazley. They built standardised homes that in the New Zealand context resulted in vast tracts of two and three bedroom bungalows sprawling across new suburbs, representing dominant beliefs about family life, child rearing, privacy and space. Suburbs were developed as representing

...semi-rural bliss, the home as a haven from dangers and complexities thought to be inherent in city life. ...reformers and politicians saw the suburbs as free from moral pollution with the family home and the wife and mother ensuring the training and health of the next generation...' (Ferguson, 1994:34).

A growing commercialism, and also the burgeoning town-planning and garden city movement, reinforced this suburban vision. Interestingly in 1896, at the first meeting of the National Council of Women, Professor Alexander Bickerton of Canterbury University College referred to the concept of 'unitary homes', and in 1918 the Secretary of Labour had discussed the provision of communal kitchens in some main cities (Ferguson 1994:78). The garden-city movement, which had developed in the USA in the 1880's, had been associated with a challenge to the notion of the private family home and development of co-operative neighbourhoods that would break down barriers for women and the divide of private and public roles and spaces. Hurst Seager, a Canterbury architect, advocated the garden-city concept and it was he who organised the first New Zealand Town-Planning Conference in 1919. However any notions of an alternative model did not become part of the New Zealand planning agenda. What was emphasised

¹⁰ From this perspective housing interests are expressed as products of the state-space articulation, representing as they do a displacement of the capitalist worker antagonism through the mechanics of collective consumption, rather than a separate base of capital accumulation (1977:18, in Gottdiener, 1985:168). David Harvey further developed this Marxist analysis by focusing on the logic of accumulation and the role of the property market, as increasingly in the 1970's capital moved from the productive sector. It is a perspective, that because of its highly structural nature, can be criticised for its neglect of individuals, social groups and social movements. Its value is in its ability to expose the inequitable sharing of power and to identify the winners and losers of changes, which are recognised as resulting from changes in the larger social system rather than being 'products of processes internal to places themselves' (Gottdiener, 1985:58)

at the conference were 'garden suburbs' and beautification schemes. '... Ideas potentially subversive of the privatised home were stripped of any critique of existing urban and suburban realities' (Ferguson, 1994:78). The interdependency and influence of such interest groups as builders, financiers and politicians was too strong.

In this period politicians, doctors, and educators promoted the reproductive role of women. Truby King, founder of the Plunket Society, was a key figure as he promoted improved standards of health, and the instillation of order and discipline on children (Olsen 1981, in Pawson 1987:124). This 'cult of domesticity' was to emphasise the economic dependence of women on men, and continues to be a significant factor shaping and being shaped by urban forms. The segregation of women and men into the private world of home and the public world of production was deeply ingrained on the urban landscape with this encouragement of the construction of separate family homes on large suburban sections. The variation in the meaning and layout of houses in different countries, for example France which had developed more collectivised living strategies and Sweden's apartment living, demonstrates how the home has come to reflect the society around it. 'The private world is constituted by the home and the home is constituted by the private realm' (Saunders and Williams, 1988).

In 1935 the Minister of Works, Mr. Coates, argued that '...the best type of house to be encouraged wherever possible is the single family detached house.' (Pawson 1987:125). In 1945 'flats' constituted only 6.2% of the total number of dwellings (New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, in Wilkes and Shirley 1984:237). The standard New Zealand house was a two or three bedroom bungalow, codified in national building laws, which described the kind of houses New Zealanders could build, the rooms they could contain, minimum dimensions, the size of the sites, and acceptable methods of construction and finish (Mitchell, 1977:95-96, in Wilkes and Shirley, 1984:239).

These housing policies were part of the government's support for the nuclear family concept. Together with policies of full employment and social welfare support, the incorporation of the 'cult of domesticity' was part of the social contract known as the

'historic compromise' (Jesson, 1989). A coalition of capital, labour and the state worked together to ensure economic growth with welfare provisions in return for workers cooperation and wage restraint. A single family (male) wage, supported by these policies, was designed to be sufficient to enable families to purchase a home and carry on a reasonable style of living. This family wage was considered exclusively a male wage. The unpaid labour of women was required to support and service the wage earner, and reproduce and support future wage earners or future unpaid supporters. Paid female labour was in a restricted range of occupations and attracted a significantly lower rate of pay. These factors helped shape the ideal New Zealand 'family' and 'home', each socially constructed and mutually reinforcing. The effects have been enduring.

From 1949 the National government had returned to home ownership as the priority.

Home ownership lay at the heart of the '...prevailing ethos, reflecting aspirations for security, independence, and respectability' (Dunstall, 1981: 404 in Dupuis and Thorns, 1998: 41). In their study of the meanings elderly New Zealanders have of their 'home' Dupuis and Thorns argue convincingly that, '...the association between home ownership and security is a component of the popular wisdom of this country....It has become the bedrock of the dominant ideology....it is popular wisdom that shaped beliefs, defines life's possibilities, and drives practices' (Dupuis & Thorns, 1996: 492). The 1950 White Paper on Housing reflected the ideology of home ownership stating '...home building and home ownership develop initiative, self-reliance, thrift and other good qualities which go to make up the moral strength of the nation. Homeowners too, by building up an equity in their properties, are saving in one of the most effective ways.... Above all, home ownership promotes responsible citizenship.' (AJHR 1950 J6:3, in Dupuis and Thorns 1998).

The State Advances Corporation provided loans at modest rates to first homebuyers, with additional benefits provided in 1958 through the Family Benefits (Home Ownership) Act. Ownership rates in 1951 increased to 61.38% of all households and to nearly 70% in the 1960's (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998). However these policies favoured single family households with regular incomes and discriminated against single-person households and these were mainly headed by women (See Ferguson 1994; De Bruin and Dupuis, 1995,

cited in Dupuis and Thorns, 1998).

The increasing involvement of the state in social relations encouraged the ideal of the nuclear family and emphasised property ownership. As Pawson argues the state's interest has been in social investment and control, within a patriarchal model of gender relations, in which the nuclear family is seen as a basic component of capitalist order. 'Such ideologies have had a profound impact on the social production of urban space' (Pawson, 1987:124). The residential patterns of the past confirm this contention, just as changes in residential patterns today reflect the profound impact of present ideologies.

4. d : THE END OF THE DREAM

During the 1960's the government reduced expenditure on housing as part of a response to fiscal restraints. Import protection and substitution were being dismantled as the state attempted to encourage the private sector to re-structure to maintain overall profitability. As controls on interest rates were removed and building societies encouraged, and as property prices increased significantly in the 1970's, access to housing, particularly for first home buyers was affected dramatically. In the 1970's the steady rise of interest rates of the 1950's and 1960's, nearly doubled as booms and busts in the housing market became common (See Thorns, 1992). This trend continued into the 1980's making the purchase of a home dependent on a substantial sum for a deposit and/or two incomes within the household. House prices rose in real terms by more than 25% from 1971 to 1975, and then, until the sharemarket crash of 1987, two slumps were each followed by sharp rises (Thorns and Sedgwick, 1997:150). [See Figure 1: 18]

By the 1960's land development was dominated by a handful of major companies and controlled by complex legal, planning, financial and engineering requirements associated with the prescriptive Town and Country Planning Legislation, building regulations, and council requirements. Urban growth was partly controlled by the provision of roads, water and power supply, and sewerage, and local authorities zoning of residential land (Crothers, in Wilkes and Shirley, 1984:241). Building was carried out by a multitude of

small firms with significant activity by large-scale companies such as Fletchers operating in the lower end of the market. Responsibility for good standards was put on to the developers. The majority of homes were being built by 'spec' builders with only 5% of houses having any architectural input (Stacpole and Beaven 1972:76, in Wilkes and Shirley 1984:242), resulting in large areas of housing without any particular design flair or sensitivity to consumer requirements.

The statutory basis of urban planning in New Zealand was initiated with the Town Planning Act 1926, which relied on zoning rules to facilitate capital investment and efficiencies. The suburban growth of the 1940's and 1950's, plus the unwieldy local government system and the uncoordinated urban policy of central government compounded an ineffective law and problems of management. There was also a growing concern with the containment of urban sprawl to protect productive rural land (Memon & Perkins, 1993). Following the Town and Planning Act 1953 local authorities were given far more autonomy but their powers were limited to mitigating the physical detrimental impacts associated with urban developments. The Town and Country Planning Appeal Board was established and although there was a degree of public scrutiny of urban development proposals, urban development decisions were often left to the subdivision initiatives of real estate developers (Memon et al 1993:20).

The Town and Country Planning Act, 1977, was part of an increasing involvement of local government in the planning process. Increased consideration of matters of national concern such as the encroachment of urban development on the rural fringes of cities and the interests of third parties resulted. The regulatory framework had, as its core, land use planning established by zoning rules. Issues of urban life that were directly related to land use were mainly focused on. As Kilmartin and Thorns state, 'Environmental and physical determinism has been deeply embedded and unquestioned in New Zealand's planning process (1978, in Memon and Perkins, 1993:21).

This deterministic perspective, that regards social and cultural development as the logical outcome of land use, has been reinforced by the domination of the planning profession by

technical experts. 'As a result, society's class, gender, and cultural divisions, which often manifest themselves in spatial and social inequalities have often been ignored by urban planners' (Memon and Perkins, 1993:22). L. Johnston, in a 1989 review of planning in New Zealand went as far as to conclude that 'planning is sexist, patriarchal and phallogocentric' (in Memon and Perkins, 1993:23). Within this regime the nature of the city is evaluated in a functional, economic sense. Urban space became divided into the public world of men's work and recreation in the city centre, and the private world of the suburbs, women's space and the standardised 'family' home. 'Men are the planners and women are the planned' (Crawford and Cole, 1981, in Memon and Perkins, 1993:24). Women historically have had fewer resources to secure property ownership or dispute planning decisions. Social and cultural issues so central to daily life, are often dealt with outside the local government planning system, and often by under-resourced voluntary agencies. An inflexible zoning system has discouraged home-based industry and other employment opportunities in residential neighbourhoods. The evidence of transport systems and child-care facilities suggests the burden of the dual roles of paid and unpaid work so many women carry has never been properly considered by planning authorities. Research by Cameron (1983) shows how women's sports activities have been under-resourced relative to men's activities. Concerns of the elderly and the design and management of public spaces to allow, in particular women, access at all times, have never had the planning priority they deserve (Memon and Perkins, 1993:23-25).¹¹

These twentieth century developments occurred at the time of increasing central government involvement in economic and urban affairs. State expenditure on the infrastructure to support protected industries was affecting urban patterns as urbanisation, high employment and considerable welfare spending led to an increase in consumer spending. As Memon and Perkins (1993) state the family car and single family home had

¹¹ Susan Saegert, in 1980 described the power that the socially constructed symbols of the 'male' city and the 'female' suburb has in constraining choices and reinforcing segregation of much private life from the public sphere perpetuating inequalities. She differentiates between male and female evaluations of residential preferences, with males being more likely to favour suburban living with females having to compromise their own employment options, enjoyment and stimulation, for their children's independence and their husband's well-being. This necessity to choose between the private world of home and the public world reinforced the real and symbolic distinctions between the private domestic world and the public, 'productive' world.

become high priorities with the process reinforced by a high birth rate between 1946 and 1961. However limits to the dream had begun to be felt. By the 1960's house building was not keeping up with population gains and again in the early 1970's the baby-boomers and increased immigration created an under-supply of housing stock. The short fall in the 1960's and 1970's had resulted in an inability to satisfy demand. This trend was reflected in the price increases of the time, even though 'some lowered their sights' from detached houses to flats and apartments, although these comprised only about one-sixth of dwellings built. (Oliver & Williams, 1981). Adding to the crisis were increasing costs leading to poorer quality housing, urban sprawl and the associated infra-structural limitations, and a perceived loss of rural land.

The New Zealand Institute of Architecture reflected a growing disquiet in the 1960's by describing the suburbs as a source of social pathology. It was becoming obvious the '.... suburban ethos was no longer able to paper over real divisions in New Zealand society' (Ferguson, 1994:204). The Commission of Inquiry into Housing in 1971 had briefly mentioned domestic design in relationship to women's concerns. In 1976 the Society for Research on Women (SROW) reported on women's concerns about confinement to the private sphere, isolation in the suburbs and the strain of travel for work. However, planners and architects, still pushed any consideration of gender issues aside as aesthetic considerations continued to hold sway. Gender issues did resurface in the 1980's as a result of the difficulty the Housing Corporation had setting up Women's Refuges. The bureaucratic and legal barriers facing women when attempting to secure their housing requirements, even when in such dire need, were exemplified by the narrow town-planning definition of residential living and family 'norms'. Women's refuges were still being defined as an 'abnormal' residential use (Ferguson 1994:274).

Pawson, commenting on the restrictive nature of the planning of urban space, describes how good standards of technical design have reflected '...the disciplinary requirements of capitalism and the desire to promote public health in order to protect the state's social capital, its people'. One way it has achieved this is by ensuring that '....facilities catering for the unproductive underseam of social life...are repressively banished to or beyond the

urban fringe...'. Institutions such as those catering for psychiatric patients are '...unwanted reminders of the irrational in a society dedicated to material efficiency' (1987:126). As policies of deinstitutionalisation continue the difficulty today of locating homes in Christchurch for many people in need of some form of sheltered care attests to the continuation of these sentiments.

4 .e : 1984: THE NEW ERA

Individualism and market forces form the base of the neo-classic economic policies that became more firmly established after the election of the Labour government in 1984. The financial and business sectors were deregulated, farm subsidies abolished, import controls phased out, and government departments were restructured on a more privatised model. A review of the Town and Country Planning Act (1977) was initiated (Hearn, 1987) as environmentalists were becoming increasingly concerned about threats to the environment from economic growth, and the business sector was concerned about the expense and delays of the planning process (Memon and Perkins, 1993:25). The Resource Management Act, 1991, (RMA) resulted and, parallel to this legislation, local and regional governments were reorganised by the amendment, in 1989, of the Local Government Act, 1974. Territorial local authorities were given a pivotal role in the administration of the new law. On November 1st, 1989, the new Christchurch City came into being. It incorporated the former Christchurch City, Waimairi District, Riccarton Borough and Heathcote County Council, and parts of Paparoa and Eyre Counties. It was organised on lines of management control within an organisational structure based on the private sector. A new system of Annual Strategic Plans was set up with planning being divided between the RMA, the City Plan and the Annual Strategic Plans. The reorganised tasks and responsibilities of local authorities have resulted in a greater involvement in local economic and employment development. Cities now compete with one another as they promote their own 'place'. The resulting growth in 'boosterist' politics (Hall, 1993, in Perkins and Thorns, 1997) is evident as changes in the urban environment and the social consequences of these changes are sketched out in the following chapters. What

will be shown is that it cannot be assumed these changes are the result of '...consensus and agreement based on some underlying and universal set of values such as those implied in the ideas of sustainability and sustainable development' (Perkins and Thorns, 1997).

The central concern and scope of the RMA is the use of the natural and physical environment and its protection from the adverse effects of economic activities. The underlying purpose is the promotion of sustainable management of the environment but tensions and conflicts are resulting as varying definitions and interpretations of sustainability are made. Underlying some of the tension in the changes are doubts, expressed by exponents of the new regime, about the role of planning by public authorities. Britton argues that assumptions are now made that the decisions of the entrepreneurs are in the best interests of the nation and local bodies should intervene as little as possible (Britton et al, 1992:225). Certainly planning is now concerned with a natural, physical agenda, with economic and social concerns to be addressed (or not) by adjustments in social policy.

As Memon and Perkins (1993) state the implication for urban planning of the RMA will not be known until the planning case law evolves in the judicial system and this will take many years. They argue convincingly that sustainability, as defined in its natural and physical resource sense, is not as wide as the definition that used to apply under the Town and Country Planning Act. Defining human social and community life naturalistically the RMA (No.2, RMA 1991:11) ignores the fact that cities are a significant product of human culture. '...cities are...artificial, cultural constructs. To treat human communities as part of ecosystems ignores the complex social and economic processes which produce and maintain cities.' (1993:29). Resources under the RMA are defined as, '...land, air, soil, minerals, energy, all forms of plants and animals, and all structures' (No, 3, RMA 1991:14). Cities and urban life are however '...more than an amalgam of structures, and are not inanimate objects available for managed exploitation' (Memon and Perkins, 1993:29). The narrow definitions of sustainability and resources are therefore neglectful of the cultural and social urban fabric. The potential is there for a more balanced

approach to natural and social environmental planning and management but it is not evident. As Gottdiener states '.... urban planning in *every* society is a facade for power' (1985:18).

Research by Perkins and Thorns (1997) has shown how, with few exceptions, social and economic planning considerations have been relegated to the margins of plans, if considered at all. Regional variations were noted in the way local authorities are utilising the potential extension of their activities in the social and economic areas, made possible by the 1989 amendments to the Local Government Act 1974. The Christchurch Council for instance has not followed the Wellington and Auckland example of seeking to sell its rental housing stock. The trend is clear however. 'New Zealand has adopted an economic system which has created social problems in our cities but has installed a planning regime which removes statutory responsibility from local authorities to respond to these (Thorns, 1990, in Memon and Perkins, 1993:28.). This response will depend on political will and will be the result of '...contest and struggle rather than consensus and agreement...' (Perkins and Thorns, 1997).

Along with the state's re-regulation of the economy and environmental legislation, its role in the relaxation of consumption practices has had a significant influence on the urban landscape. Associated with trends of internationalisation, financial and trade patterns, and changes in patterns of work, individual and household consumption practices have altered significantly. The 1990 repeal of the Shop Trading Hours Act, and the Sale of Liquor Act 1989, has altered significantly the urban landscape and consumption practices. Changes to the drink-driving laws have also had a noticeable social impact. The blurring of boundaries and public/private spaces are occurring as people change their day-to-day routines and residential environments. Of particular significance for a study of inner city residential homes is the many cafes, bars, shopping malls, multiplexes, and more heterogeneous housing stock being created. These changes reflect the process of modern consumption practices which are '...reconceptualised as not of a process satisfying material needs, but of pursuing the promise of symbolic difference' (Gardner and Sheppard 1989:497-50; in Le Heron & Pawson, 1996:322). This

rapid change in consumer preference resulted in fifty new restaurants and cafes opening whilst thirty closed in Christchurch in the nine months after April 1994 (Le Heron & Pawson, 1996:336). New Zealanders are increasingly travelling overseas and the cultural life of the city is changing as overseas tourists visit and more immigrants settle. The appeal and reality of a more cosmopolitan lifestyle in the city has resulted.

New Zealand has an aging population. It is widely recognised that the elderly proportion of our population will increase significantly in the early part of next century. Our dependency ratio has fluctuated over the years but despite the public debate concerning this ratio and the 'burden' this will create for younger generations as individual provision, particularly for retirement income, is promoted by government, New Zealand still has one of the lowest dependency rates within the OECD. Here only 15.3% (1988) of the population is over 65 compared to the 17.9% mean for the whole of the OECD countries (OECD, 1988, in Thorns and Sedgwick, 1997:44). However, as it is the proportion of the oldest age group in the population that is expected to increase the most, this will have significant implications for the family caregivers, '...who in our society are primarily women in their 40s and older...For the first time, adults expect to live active lives for 20 to 30 years after their children are launched into the adult world...they will have both children still in need of various forms of support and increasingly dependent older parents...' (Swain, D. ,in Spoonley et al 1994:22).

Other social characteristics that are relevant to this study include the manner in which the gender composition of the workforce and the nature of work patterns continue to undergo change. As primary sector employment declined, at first manufacturing until 1966, and then the service sector increasingly employed women. In the 1960's 27% of women were employed in the full time work force and by the 1980's this had increased to 34.4%. Full time and part time work among married women had increased from 23% in the mid 1960's to 53% by the mid eighties (Thorns, 1992:86). Increasingly government policies and rhetoric are aimed at 'encouraging' individual and 'family' responsibility in all social policy areas when particularly for women it is becoming more difficult to carry the burden of the double shift of paid employment and unpaid work within the family. Jenny

Shipley, when Minister of Health, referred to this individualistic approach being extended in the health area. 'This reflects the view that spouses do contribute to family resources and it is important for society that sharing responsibility in a family is the right thing to do' (Warren, 1996:24).

Changing family and household formation and more marriage dissolutions have also occurred. Marriage rates since 1964 have fallen and the rate of divorce has increased from 3.23 per 1,000 marriages in 1961 to 7.64 in 1976 and 12.4 in 1993. In 1963 the Matrimonial Proceedings Act legitimated divorce by mutual consent, and the unpaid work of women at home could be taken into account in determining marriage settlements. The Matrimonial Property Act of 1976 provided for equal shares and the 'clean break' principle resulting in many cases of the family home being sold, creating accommodation problems for the custodial parent and children (Davey and Aitken 1981, in Thorns and Sedgwick, 1997). This Act was amended in 1983 to allow the custodial parent to remain in the family home. Together with the increase number of older single person households this has led to an increase in the rate of household formations. Statistics show that in 1945 the number of households that comprised one person was 9.1% of the total, and in 1981 this was 18.5% (Wilkes and Shirley, 1984: 239), and of these 66% were women (Pool, 1986, in Thorns and Sedgwick, 1997:42). There has been a decline in the number of two parent households - under half in 1991, an increase in the number of two parent families where neither parent is in work (6% in 1971 and 12% in 1991), and an increase in the number of families with adult children living at home - a 12% increase from 1981-1991 (Statistics New Zealand, 1994).

For a great many New Zealanders their way of life, their expectations and responsibilities, have been affected by these trends. As society has changed the things that people identify with also change, impacting on housing decisions and on issues of accessibility and appropriateness of urban forms. Before 1984 New Zealand had one of the most highly regulated economies in the western world but it has changed to a market driven, less-interventionist state shaped by an ideology which stresses profits, market rates for social goods, individualism and balancing the books (O'Brien & Wilkes,

1993:21, in Dupuis and Thorns ,1996:495). The social and economic restructuring of the past decade has significantly changed the realities and expectations of New Zealanders. The clear message from government is one of individual provision and responsibilities. New Zealand is not alone in this. The tendency throughout the developed world has been for patterns of social life 'to undercut traditional habits and customs, bringing stress, loss of a sense of community, greater isolation of individuals, and exploitation' (Cockerham, 1995:156).

At the same time the restructuring process has impacted on employment opportunities and service provisions. Changing notions of identity, and individual and collective security, resulting from the very different world in which we now find ourselves, will profoundly affect a 'sense of place'. The move to inner city apartments is a reflection of this change. Of relevance for this study are the limitations placed on women by the socio-spatial structure of the city as they increasingly enter the workforce. Distance from workplaces, access to personal transport and lack of cheap, well-timetabled childcare curtail the paid work options for women (Allan 1986, in Pawson 1987:125). Women are still expected to retain disproportionate domestic work responsibilities as their paid work is increasingly required to maintain family lifestyle expectations (SROW 1981, in Pawson 1987:125), at a time when it is virtually impossible to gain entry to property ownership on one income (Thorns, 1992:281).

The assumption of different roles for men and women, that has grown with the development and maintenance of the economic system, has resulted in the ideology of the nuclear family being reproduced in New Zealand's built environment. Men still largely control the shape and provision of this. For example the total membership of the New Zealand Institute of Architects is approximately 2000 but only 100 are women. The Masters Builders Association has 1430 members and one is a woman. The New Zealand Institute of Quantity Surveyors can boast 40 of their 950 members are women, and the Institute of Professional Engineers has 331 women members amongst its 7694 members (BRANZ, 1996:39). Employment figures in the Construction and Building industry show

a drop in the percentage of women employed from 9.73% in 1994 to 5.4% in 1996 (Household Labour Force Survey, June 1996, Statistics NZ).

Of considerable importance to the nature and effect of the physical changes in the inner city housing stock has been the state's 1993 restructuring of the delivery of housing assistance. A switch was made from an explicitly spatial public policy based on the provision of housing stock in a particular location, to an apparently aspatial housing policy based on income supplements (see Morrison, 1995:39-56). The key aspect of this policy for government was how to stimulate the private sector to supply housing within the price range affordable by the target groups without offering subsidies to the building industry. The implicit housing market model adopted was to see shortages of accommodation generating price rises which in turn will generate a supply response. However, the default mechanism for the supply of such housing is the filtering, or hand-me-down transfer process, and several factors have hampered the success of this. These include past policies resulting in clusters of state housing in low amenity suburban locations, a strong demand for inner city property for development, and the lack of incentives for those supplying low cost housing as the inflation rate has come down lowering returns. The exposure to market rentals and hence to the locational component of rent has resulted in the extension of geographical segmentation that is already apparent in our cities.

The bulk of additions to the housing market have been made in the higher rent areas, which is particularly relevant to the issue of supply for individuals seeking an inner city lifestyle. With a brief review of incentives offered by the government it can be seen why speculators and investors are presently having such a significant influence on the construction of many residential property developments in the inner city. By providing the necessary start-up money, before projects gain banking or institutional support, they allow otherwise financially nonviable developments to proceed. Tax incentives for rental properties, or capital gains made by on selling to owner occupiers who may not have the capital or the confidence in the design, or concept, before completion of building, are made attractive by government policy.

From April 1st, 1993, the government increased the depreciation allowance on all types of buildings to a 3% straight line or a massive 4% diminishing value (see Somers and de Roos, 1996). As interpreted by Somers and de Roos the message of these incentives to invest in residential property is the government is being extremely generous so those in the market will solve the housing problem. The message is clear 'the government does not consider itself an efficient provider of accommodation'. All expenses incurred in gaining assessable income, excluding the purchase price or actual improvement costs, are tax deductible. GST is not applied to residential rentals, therefore GST cannot be claimed off expenses but the GST inclusive amount is deducted as an expense. If investors borrow to buy and the rent is not sufficient to cover the interest plus expenses, the loss can be a claim against income from other sources. This negative gearing '...means the tax man is contributing to your investment, and it is simply a form of subsidised housing' (Somers and de Roos, 1996:42). The point is made that because of this clause the property needs to be in the name of the highest earner of the family to get the greatest tax benefits. This of course makes it very clear who is being subsidised by this provision.

The cyclical nature of this market is clearly evident however as warnings about '...lack of neutrality' in a flawed tax system leading to under investment in the 'growth-enhancing sectors' are now being given by people such as the Reserve Bank governor, Don Brash (The Press, 31-1-98:25). In a warning about New Zealand's high current-account deficit he criticised high spending on houses as investments as New Zealand's ratio of householders' debt to disposable income has jumped from 42% in mid-1990 to almost 90% now, and this '...deficit could not be sustained indefinitely'. It is likely that the sentiments expressed in what are always very deliberate, carefully chosen words from such an influential source will have a direct impact on the investor / speculator residential property market. Reserve Bank statements tend to give a firm indication of government intent with the 'market' expected to comply 'voluntarily' or prepare for the consequences.

4 . f : LOOKING FORWARD

An ideology of economic growth, based on criteria of efficiency, effectiveness and accountability dominates public policy and the business sector. In this *laissez-faire* conservative position increasingly the consumer is seen as driving the system. It is an assumption that continues to gather momentum. This is why, as well as a qualitative analysis of the realities, choice and meanings of home by residents, structural forces, and the dependency of the building industry on the movements of the business cycle need to be considered. N M Lowes' analysis '...demonstrated that the State did not intervene in the distribution of housing. Having set the conditions for a market economy, the State was willing to allow a free rein in property speculation. This is not to suggest, however, the role of the State was modest during this period...' (Lowes, 1990:31). The period described here is not concerned with the present but the effect of government policy on the New Zealand house in the '*laissez-faire*' period years between 1840-1890. With a sense of *deja vu* this example can illustrate how an historical perspective can help dissipate the notion of urban development necessarily being the result of a progressive evolution of change driven principally by consumer demand.

This is not to argue that the consumer is entirely constrained by structural forces, or that the results of the form and function of our houses do not have many positive, enabling characteristics. This study is based on an assumption of the importance of our homes in our lives and the fact that people are making individual choices to significantly alter the style and location of their homes. However, if the simplistic notion of consumers making perfectly informed choices on a level playing field is not accepted, it does mean that it is even more important to understand the context in which people are making choices concerning their living environments. Clearly the type, cost, ownership structure and location of housing have been influenced by the general capitalist conditions which have prevailed over the century. A complex mechanism involving social groups, influences of the state at both central and local levels, changing household structures, employment patterns, technology, and those in the real estate industry including developers, speculators, and financiers, have influenced housing provision.

In recent years the government has deliberately allowed the forces of the 'market' to determine outcomes that have a significant impact on the lives of all New Zealanders. There is therefore an ever-increasing need to better understand the structural consequences of broad economic and cultural patterns that are operating at societal level. The prevailing assumption is that technological accomplishments and a loosely defined path of development will bring about 'social good', with judgements made about whether effects are positive or negative that reflect basic values as to what ought to be happening in society (Taylor *et al*, 1995). In New Zealand's current neo-liberal climate the interests of 'the market', represented by capital, privatisation, restructuring, technological change, labour market reform, and increasing globalisation, are driven by competitiveness and profits. Economic viability and the imperative of growth has become a persuasive argument when a balance is being sought between mitigating the environmental and social impacts of an activity, and the profits, jobs, export earnings, and the real or perceived beneficial flow-on effects of that activity.

However, under the jurisdiction of the 1991 Resource Management Act (RMA), and the resource consent procedures of the Regional and City Councils, the powerful imperative of economic growth is said to be checked to ensure environmental sustainability. The RMA defines the environment as including a social and a cultural dimension, including both the built and social environment. Ecosystems are seen as including 'people and communities', and mandatory requirements for an environmental impact assessment as part of the resource consent process include social and cultural factors in definitions of effects. The RMA defines effects as including temporary and permanent, past, present and future, and cumulative effects. Importantly the need to identify, consult, and respond to those interested in or affected by a proposal is emphasised. But the question that needs to be asked is how social and cultural concerns can be addressed by a planning regime defined by the RMA as being confined to safeguarding a narrowly conceived environmental sustainability (See Le Heron & Pawson, 1996:255). As Perkins and Thorns (1997) argue the rationality on which this ideal is based is equivalent to fitting a square peg into a round hole. The conclusion that must be drawn from this analogy is that any attempt to do this will result in the social, economic and cultural fabric, which will

form the body of the 'round hole', becoming distorted or damaged as a result. To feign success will be a deception.

What is important is to make the links between the legal, social, political and economic institutions and the physical forms of the urban environment, as residential needs change and may no longer fit ideological assumptions, planning provisions, or physical realities. The last five years have seen the reemergence of economic growth and falling unemployment to around 7% by mid-1996, lower levels of inflation and a fall in mortgage rates, although these indicators all remain volatile. With increased immigration rates, which have only recently reversed, there has been a revival in house, flat and section prices (see Dupuis and Thorns, 1997). Policies pursued by the Christchurch City Council, and their interpretation of the RMA as the new District Plan is being formalised, have impacted on issues of availability and affordability of residential property in the city. Also extensive local government initiatives in Christchurch to promote the Central Business District (CBD), and repackage the city as a tourist destination, have been developed in conjunction with its residential policies. These have been designed to encourage greater population densities in the central city area, stop urban spread and slow in-fill housing in selected city suburbs. These issues are having a pivotal effect on the changing residential character of the inner city. They will be examined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INNER CITY APARTMENT AS A MATERIAL REALITY

5. a : INTRODUCTION

Examining the nature and significance of physical changes within the residential setting is an essential part of this study. By demonstrating this I wish to support, and draw attention to, the notion that the '...societal processes by which the home is defined, produced and sold must be considered and built form analyses have to be integrated to research programs; careful descriptions of the human, socio-political, and built environments in which the studies take place must be included in research reports' (Depres, 1991:107). This approach will help capture the full nuances of meanings of home within the context of a changed residential style.

A review of the political and economic forces that shaped residential patterns throughout New Zealand's history provides a clear example of the need to incorporate a diachronic or historic perspective to a study of home. Societal forces have impacted on the physical shape of urban environments throughout our history. As an analysis of the perceived and experienced reality of residents who have made the move to inner city apartments will show, the formal properties of housing will influence the way in which the home is regarded. This includes aspects of the built environment such as the housing type, size and relationship to neighbours and the location. The physical properties of the home and the locational context in which they are situated will have a social, economic, and legal bearing on the way in which the home both empowers and constrains residents.

At a time when changes to the economic and employment structure, and the shifts in the organisation and delivery of welfare provisions, have impacted on the lives of most there has been much discussion of the need for physical and social security in the

contemporary, fragmented social world. The home is seen as a place providing potential material advantage and a source of territorial security for the residents and thus satisfies both an economic shelter and social-psychological requirement (Thorns, 1992:209). To understand the inner city apartment as a source of ontological security requires expanding a focus on ownership *per se*. The participants in this study had all owned homes before moving into the inner city, and to varying degrees were in a position of having choices, within the constraints of the housing market, about where and in what they would live. Their move involved not only a shift of a physical nature but a significant shift in the legal nature of the ownership structure as a direct result of that changed physical form. Understanding this phenomenon has important implications for our understandings of home as it can provide an insight into how our concept of home may be changing as the link is made with the changing physical aspects of this residential type and location.

This study is being conducted at a time when increasingly the 'market' is promoted as reflecting and providing for individuals as they make 'free and unimpeded choices' about the way they conduct their lives, at home, at work, or at play. The business community is readily supporting political rhetoric and public policy to this effect. As far as our residential choices are concerned the assumption that has always prevailed is that the choice of the style and location of homes has followed a 'natural' tendency to favour the suburban stand-alone home on a large section. According to this argument the planners and building industry have simply complied with this demand and the city has grown to accommodate the needs of the family. Today the market is simply complying with a demand by some to live in inner city apartments. This notion would fit neatly into the explanation of urban development offered by human ecological theorists.¹² The context in which these changes are occurring is obscured.

¹² The conservative and human ecological theory can be traced to Durkheim's (1858-1917) theory of an evolutionary sequence of change, from social unity based on consensus, to unity based on differentiation and interdependence. It developed into a strong theoretical movement which tended to regard urban change as being driven by 'equitable adjustment generated by interaction between large numbers of relatively equal social actors.' (Gottdiener, 1985:23) Ecological determinism was unable to tell us why inequalities had developed, as well as ignoring issues of gender, implicitly assuming what was held for males in terms of human behavior, needs and responses also held for women (Kilmartin et al. 1985). By accepting the concept of the evolving city, as a 'natural' phenomenon ecological explanations were unable to deal with the gender and class implications bound within the issues of power and control. Increasingly the critique of

My study of the physical and demographic changes in the inner city includes data concerning the views and actions of many with a direct or indirect role in the design and provision of housing. The results suggest that this belief in consumer sovereignty would not be challenged by most of those involved in providing, planning, or commenting on residential development today. Views that prevail tend to focus on demand-side considerations. People decide, within their budgetary constraints, exactly where and in what they will live. The city planners, designers, builders and the real estate industry will provide what the customer demands. The insights offered by social researchers and theorists concerning the influence of urban managers, the results of economic forces, and the role of the property market remain unheeded or unheard. The added subtleties of a feminist perspective and an understanding of residential patterns as being powerfully influenced by ideological, political, and economic forces, is not discernable within the public debate, and only rather belatedly within academic debates.

A major causal factor in changing residential patterns in Christchurch since the 1960's has been the City Council's policy of urban consolidation. This has changed the physical nature of residential development, the style of homes built and this has resulted in a very different form of ownership structure.¹³ High-density development, because of the legal

transporting natural laws to social interaction and behavior added to the inability of these theories to be persuasive.

¹³ The cross-lease scheme was introduced in the 1960's when it became clear that the company share block scheme was unsuitable for smaller residential developments. It was developed as an interim measure pending the introduction of some statutory method of unit ownership (which eventuated in the Unit Titles Act 1972) through the creation of "stratum" titles. However it still remains popular for developments of up to three or four units. As with other forms of joint ownership, all of the owners of the units own all the land, but not any particular part of the land. As well as a share in the freehold, each flat owner is granted a lease of the flat only, normally for a term of 999 years. Each lease contains a restrictive covenant giving the flat owner exclusive right to use the yard area associated with the flat. This changed the early leases which proved difficult as exclusive rights were not given legally. The separate estates are comprised in one "composite" certificate of title under the Land Transfer act 1952, against which all land transfer documents (eg mortgages) are registered in the normal fashion.

Greater densities were possible, than for a freehold subdivision, and the creation of mutual rights of way and service easements were not required. Potential pitfalls of the ownership structure compared to a freehold title are the restrictions and obligations of owners and, without formal structures, management issues can become very difficult.

Some cross-leases will restrict pets, alterations without approval, ability to let the flat, the demand for a standard of repair and the possibility of the termination of a lease in some circumstances. When a new cross-lease is registered the mortgage lender usually insists on any existing mortgage being discharged and a new mortgage registered to include the new leasehold interest created, as well as the interest in the

consequences of the resulting ownership title, is changing the nature of the long held legal ideal of owner-occupation. As a consequence the Saunders and Williams' claim that owner-occupation represents a 'stout defiance of collectivism' (1988:88) needs to be challenged. It is held that home ownership satisfies '...a deep and natural desire' (Feagin, 1983:164). The majority of responses from those in this study would support this contention, although it was not a unanimous view. However, the varying housing patterns in urbanised industrial countries are used to support the claim of Feagin that homeownership is sustained by a variety of myths supporting its superiority.¹⁴ His view is that what is in fact being observed is the structural bias built into the system. 'The housing preferences of the general public are largely the consequence of the housing tenure systems which are available, not the cause of the system' (1988:164). The move to inner city apartments and the resulting body corporate structure of the unit titles, that are a direct result of the changed physical nature of the houses, provides an example of how housing tenure systems do not necessarily follow, in an uncomplicated or automatic way, some unchanging 'deep and natural desire'.

The changed external and internal trading environment of the 1980's created a new set of conditions that shifted policy from interventionist frameworks built around rational planning carried out by technical experts to a more market framework (Thorns, 1992: 180). As Thorns states, regional planning as a result has declined. These trends have been underpinned by an ideology of economic growth; consumption emerging as one of the dominant cultural practices of the 1990's and its landscapes such as shopping malls,

freehold. Cross-lease owners will insure (or not) with different companies and in the time of damage there will often be competing interests. Alterations require the consent of all other owners and there is a need to submit a survey of the new plan, the existing lease must be surrendered and a new cross-lease must be executed to include the leasehold estate in the altered form. When selling a defect in title can result in the purchaser having the right to cancel the contract or receiving compensation. It can be seen therefore that a cross-lease title is very different from a freehold title or unit title. It does have problems but is still used and although accepted many will be unaware of the nature and content of the cross lease title. (Toepfer, 1996. Refer following Chapter 6: 138, for details of the unit title structure)

¹⁴ Homeownership rates vary from 35% in Sweden, West Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands to highs of 63% in America, and 69% in Australia. (Feagin, 1988:164). The 1996 Census in New Zealand gives the rate as 69.8% in Christchurch as compared to 67.7% for the whole of the country. (Statistics New Zealand.). Traditionally the home ownership patterns in the central city area is almost the reverse to wider Christchurch with the 1991 Census showing 71% rented and just 25% owned. (Environmental Policy and Planning Unit, Christchurch City Council, 1993) These figures are now 71.3% rented and 22.4% owned.

sports centers, bistros, and multiplexes becoming the icons of the decade (Le Heron, R, & Pawson, E., 1996:318). Individual choice is held as the most efficient means of allocating resources within this paradigm.

Associated with the Council's residential policies for the city are enhancement programs and promotional efforts designed to project and maintain the vitality and viability of the inner city area as the focus for business, culture and tourism for the city. These reflect the shift in responsibility from central Government to local Government that has resulted from the reorganisation of local government in 1989. Factors that have coincided with these developments include: a downturn in industrial and commercial property investment and building; an upsurge in the promotion and building of inner city residential property as an investment opportunity in a climate where individual provision of superannuation is being explicitly fostered by the state and aggressively promoted by the real estate industry; and a climate created by the RMA to regard planning as merely a safeguard for a narrowly conceived 'environmental sustainability', rather than any supposition that social equity remains a concern of planning (Le Heron, R, & Pawson, E., 1996:255).

The choice of an inner city apartment therefore needs to be understood in the context of: suburban intensification policies and enhancement policies of the central city area; the City Plan prepared under Section 73 of the RMA, 1991, that states the biophysical/ecological perspective needs to be considered first then '...it should be possible to consider social and economic objectives within the framework' (Christchurch City Council, 1995, Vol.1, Ch.2/3) ; and an economic and investment climate in which the building of apartment complexes is considered profitable. These factors are impacting on the physical urban landscape and residential patterns, with much public debate concerning the desirability, consequences and direction of recent developments continuing to be aired in the media.

This section will therefore examine: the geographic boundaries of the city and the Council's green-belt policies; the physical and demographic changes in the central city;

the City Plan and urban consolidation strategies; the debate surrounding urban consolidation and the City Plan; the consent process; and the 'market'.

5. b : THE GREEN BELT AND GEOGRAPHIC CONSTRAINTS

The original planned settlement pattern for Christchurch in the 1850's resulted in a grid pattern of roads being broken only by the Avon River. Workers' cottages were built surrounding a commercial area in the inner city area. The building of Gothic and villa style homes within the area followed, and the city's residential pattern was quickly established. Most settlers were escaping the conditions of the industrial revolution in Britain where the settlement pattern was one of row housing, predominantly rented with little security of tenancy. In New Zealand, with ample supplies of land provided by the alienation of Maori from their land, there developed a pattern of freed rowed housing that became the suburban stand alone house. Architect Ian Athfield, at the public forum, 'The Good, The Bad, and The Loss of Character, Inner City In-fill, (ICON, 3-7-97), described these patterns as anything but 'natural' or necessarily appropriate.

Following the establishment of these patterns –the planners came along and created a lot of laws to associate people's habitation in relation to the boundaries, with side yards, back yards and front yards. A pattern of housing was created based on the survey between sites. This was reinforced by the car, and planners who naively thought that privacy was about the distance you are apart from your neighbours rather than turning your back on your neighbour...

Urban expansion was unabated for over a century with environmental issues completely subjugated by the irrepressible strength of combined political, economic and social forces that created the physical ideal of the detached suburban house and the legal ideal of private, individual ownership. Geographic restraints to urban sprawl were commonly emphasised as restrictions to urban expansion in the early 1960s became the focus of the Council's residential policies. Physical limits include the Pacific Ocean to the east; the

Waimakariri River to the north; the Christchurch airport to the west; protection of the landscape and natural values of the Port Hills to the south; and the Bottle Lake Forest to the north-east. Other features constraining urban expansion include the need to protect the main recharge zone for Christchurch's artesian water supply to the west and north; attempts to protect the productive capability of high class fertile soils to the north, west and south; the long-standing goal of protection of the "green belt" around Christchurch; and the need to provide a sustainable transport system (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (PCE, 1997:3).

For the past 30 years urban expansion has been constrained by regional "green belt" policies and controls to limit urban sprawl. This area of land, traditionally and popularly known as the "green belt", surrounds the city and includes the rural Port Hills to the south and agricultural and horticultural areas to the north and west (PCE, 1997:3). Since the 1970s there has been increasing infill and urban redevelopment of the inner city because of deliberate policies to limit opportunities for greenfield subdivision (CRC, 1997). The Christchurch City Council's (CCC) 1986 report on residential planning policies stated that consolidation of urban development had been one of the most notable achievements in Regional and District planning with land held for urban development having been reduced by 1500 ha over the past 30 years. As this report stated the Regional Scheme has had considerable influence on the range and distribution of residential buildings. The green belt policies, begun in the early 1960s, had created a more compact urban form and, '...infill housing and higher residential densities helped create a need for a wider range of residential buildings which was strengthened by public recognition of the advantages of inner city living' (CCC, 1986).

A long serving elected representative on the Council, who is also a member of the planning committee, explained the changes in residential densities to me this way.

The central government had allowed cross leasing and the local government picked it up... People had changed. They didn't want all their back yards, so the council made it possible to do this. But the problem was instead of 20,000

40,000 went in....Good and easy ones [sites]were used up real quick and then people started bending the rules a bit...unsatisfactory developments. ..the council suddenly realised - oops, this has gone far enough.

We have now made it far more difficult by increasing the size of the minimum section. But then the question is what are you going to do with all the people who want to buy a house. That is why we have made all residential land in the central city high density with 1.5 floor coverage of site. You need to build multi-stories you see. You now have the ability to go up to 11m and 14 m inside the belt, and four stories over much of the inner city. That is why the inner city will develop. That is what the council wants. (emphasis added)

A continuing advancement of the idea of consumer demand as the primary and initial motivating force behind residential patterns is illustrated by this example, even as the explicit determining role of urban managers is outlined.

5. c: PHYSICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

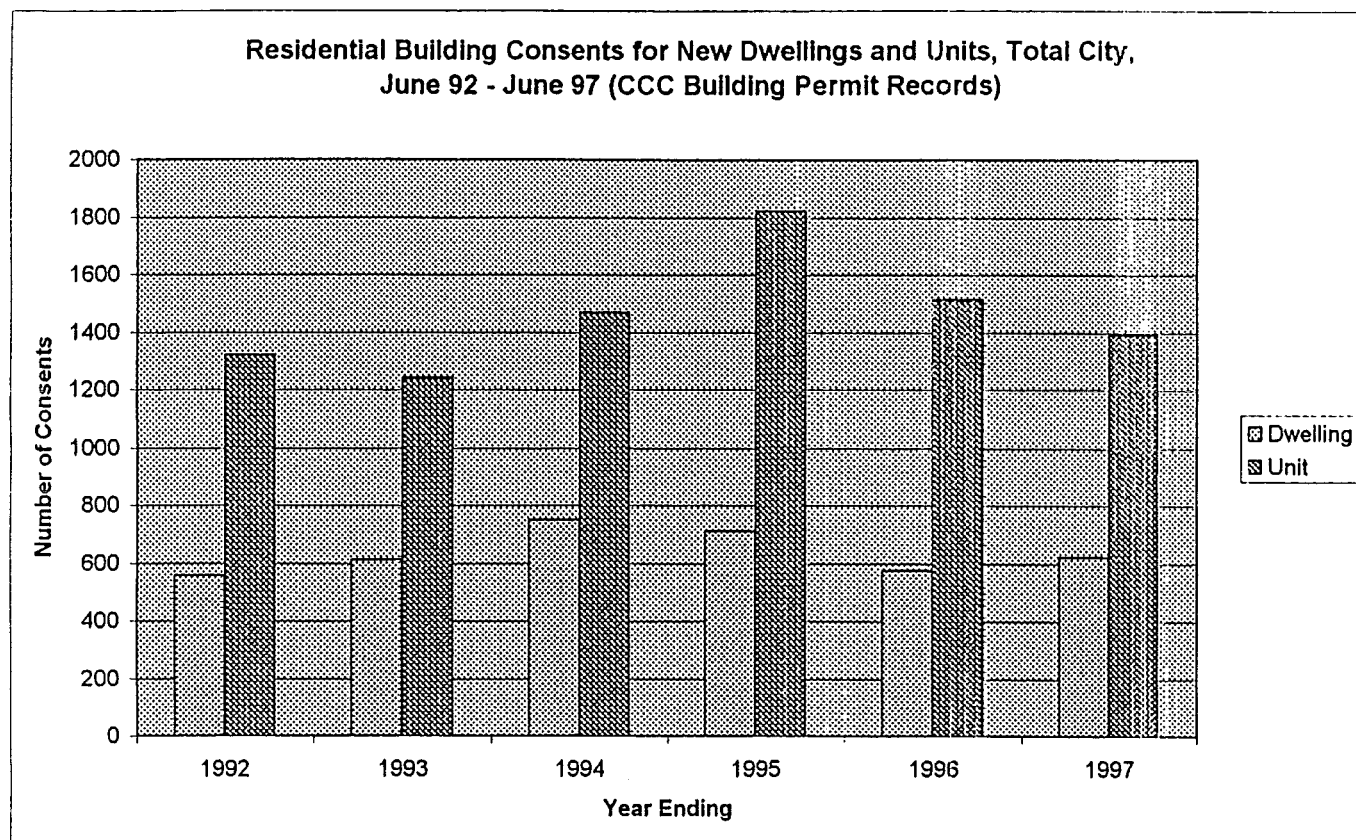
During the 1945-1966 period there was dramatic decline in the population of the central city. The reasons related to reduction in family size, the aging of the population, lack of restraint on suburban growth, outward growth of commercial and industrial areas, availability of flat well drained land, movement of younger people to the suburbs, low interest loans for new housing plus absence of statutory planning controls (Christchurch City Council, 1986). The result was a reduction in the population density of the urban area in the inner city, housing obsolescence, public services amenities and facilities reduced dramatically and central city shopping reduced considerably, employment dropped and those still working in the city used private cars with public transport patronage dropping significantly. These factors provided the key to the District Scheme residential policies first adopted in 1962 and reviewed in 1968.

The consolidation policies continue to have a significant impact on the direction and type of residential developments over the whole of the city. Christchurch has higher than average numbers of two or more flats or houses joined together (25%) compared to the rest of New Zealand (17%) (PCE, 1997:3). During the ten years prior to 1986 one third to one half of all new 'dwelling units' erected have been multi unit developments (CCC, 1986). Figures for the past six years confirm emphatically the dominance of residential units over stand alone homes on their individual sections (see figure 1:18). A direct result of the urban consolidation policies is the fact that from July 1991 to June 1997 residential building consent figures from the Christchurch City Council show city wide consents for only 3831 dwellings compared to 8759 units in this six year period. In the central city area over this period 9 building consents for dwellings and 562 consents for units were issued (see figure 3:69). Statistics do not differentiate between apartments or town houses but the ownership structures of 'units' will either involve a cross-lease title or a unit title and a body corporate structure (see pp. 138-140).

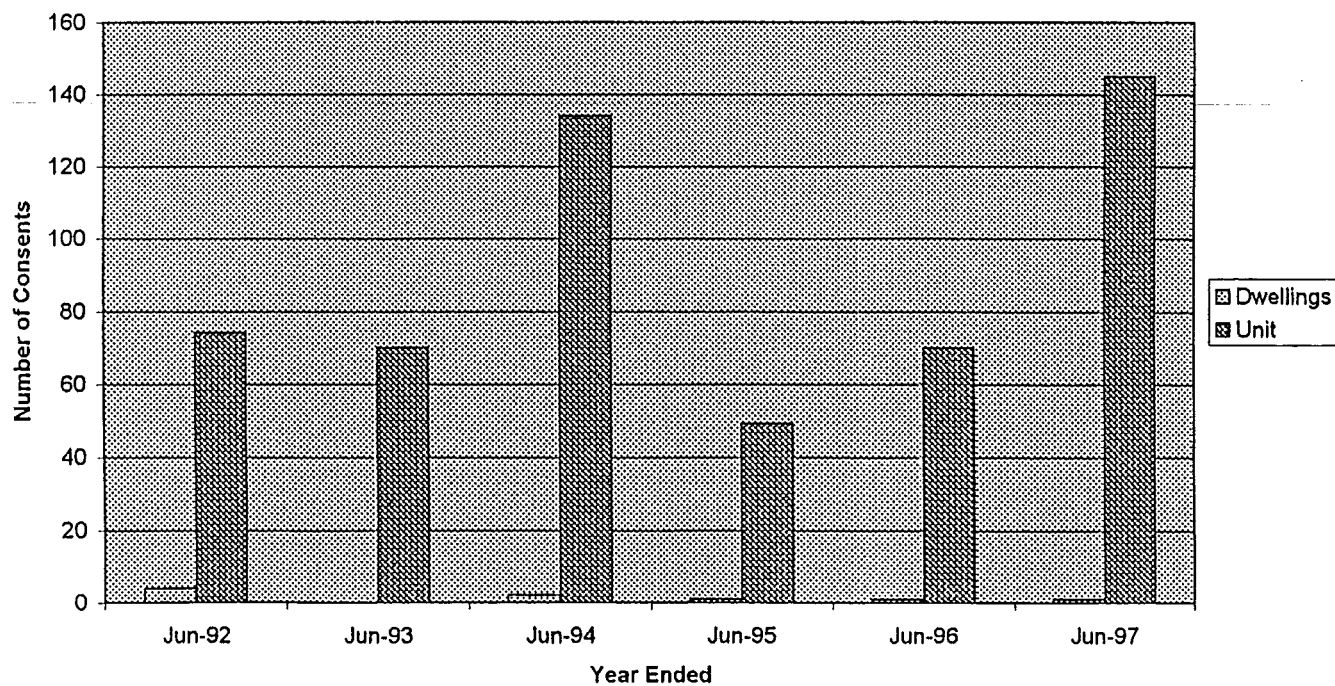
Also of interest is the fact that residential building consents over the last three years in the central city area have shown a marked increase, although there has been a steady decline for the whole city. This is not surprising if the inner city household projections from the council prove to be accurate. Figures for 1996 show the number of households as approximately 21,500, increasing to a medium estimate of 26,500 over the next two decades. This would equate to an annual increase of 250 households. The last six years of building consent data shows an average annual increase of 96 dwellings or units built in the inner city area. The expected increase in housing densities and population densities in this area is therefore substantial with building activity needing to increase by over two and half times the average activity of the past six years. The trend to multi unit development in the inner city commenced in the 1950's and 1960's as older large inner city houses were converted into apartments, mainly for the rental market. After the university moved to Ilam this rental accommodation became saturated and in the 1960's and 1970's the trend towards new units started. A report by the Environmental Policy &

Figure 3

RESIDENTIAL BUILDING CONSENTS. CENTRAL CITY/ CITY TOTAL



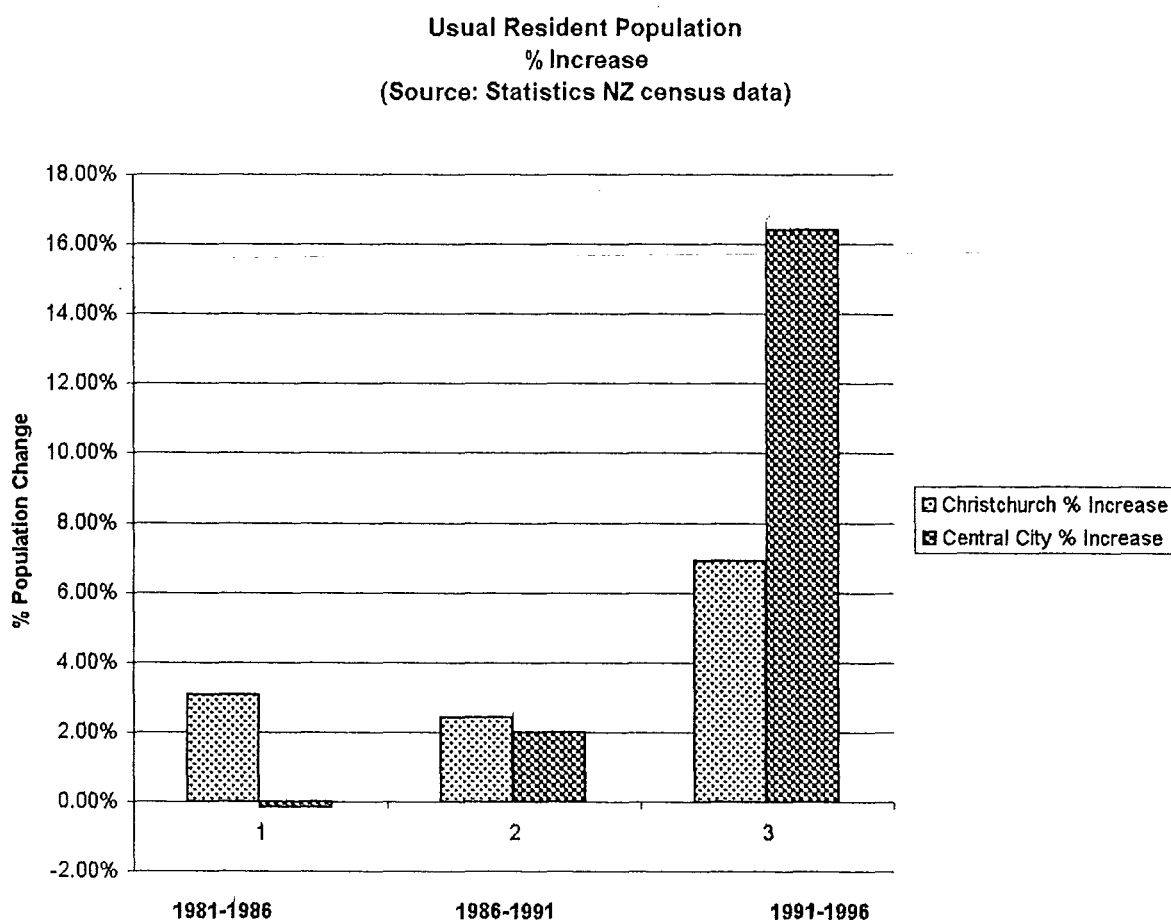
**Residential Building Consents for New Dwellings and Units, Central City,
June 1992 - June 1997 (CCC Building Permit Records)**



Planning Unit, Christchurch City Council, April 1993, (CCC, 1993) showed trends since 1977 had resulted in 99 new developments, of which 87% were apartment complexes, totaling 566 units. Only 8% of apartments were built on empty sites. Trends over the preceding three years show a peak in 1991. Following a further peak in 1994 and then a drop in the last three years there has been a steady increase in building consents issued for the inner city area.

For the year ended June 1997 over 10% of all unit-building consents in Christchurch were in the inner city area, and units comprised over 56% of all residential consents for the total city. The population increase in the inner city area has been dramatic in recent years (see figure 4:69). Between the 1981 and 1986 Census the population in the inner city area dropped, and the percentage increase between the 1986 and 1991 Census was still below that for Christchurch total. However between 1991 and 1996, while the city's population continued to grow at a rapid rate of over 6% per annum, the percentage increase in the inner city was well over 16%.

Figure 4



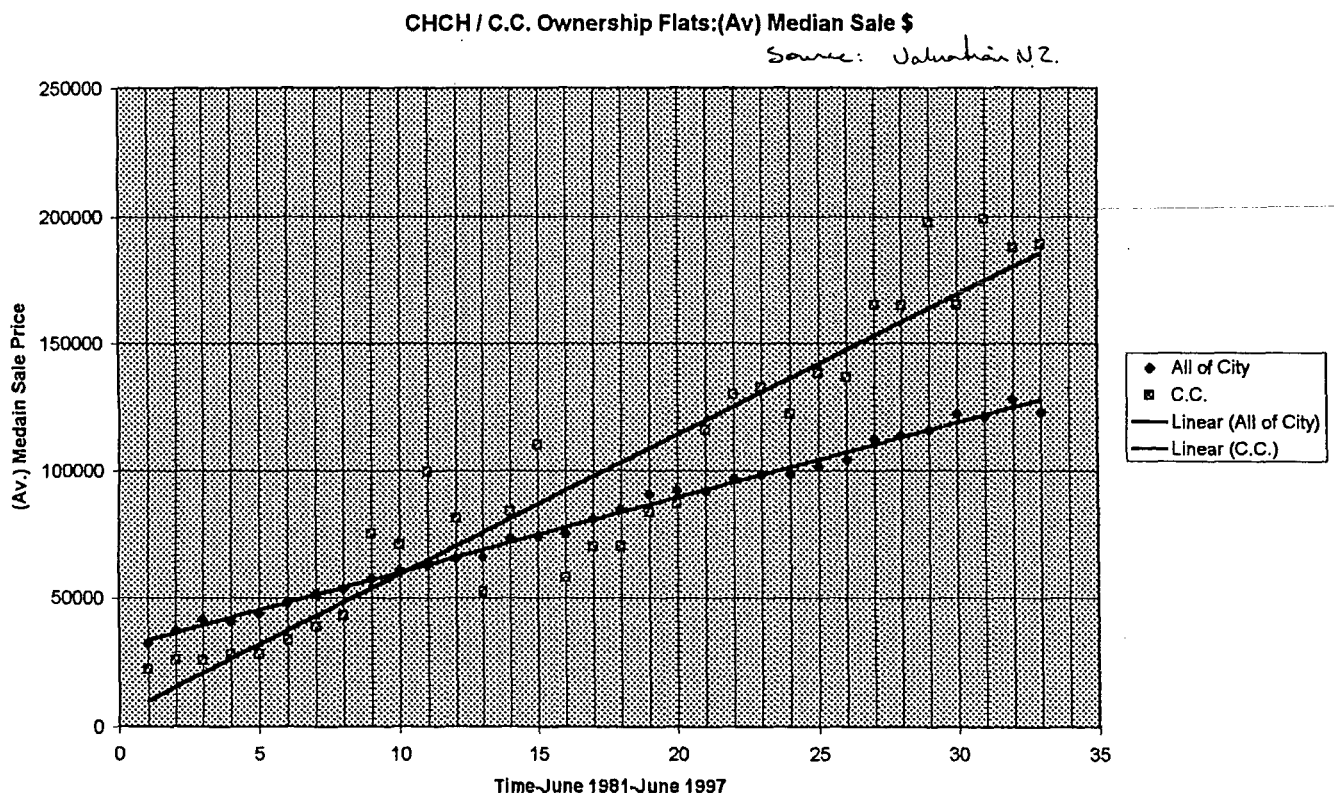
The particularities of the demographic profile of the inner city continue to be reflected in the statistics gathered from Statistics New Zealand Supermap data. In 1991 approximately 64% of the inner city population was aged between 15-44, compared with the city total figure of 48%. The 1996 figure is 67% as compared with the city total figure of 47%. In 1986 6.9% of the inner city population was under fifteen, in 1991 this age group had increased to 7.8%, but now it has dropped to 6.4%. This compares with the 1996 figure of 19.4% for the total city. The inner city area is therefore increasingly attracting a disproportionate number of 15-44 year olds and the proportion of under fifteen year olds continues to decline.

The 1991 census shows 46.8% of inner city households were made up of one person, compared to 23% citywide. In 1996 one-person households had reduced to only 38% in the inner city but remained constant at 23% for the total city. One-family households were significantly lower at 29% in the inner city compared with 60% for the total city, with multi-person households more numerous at 20% compared with 7% for the total city. There continues to be a significant difference and volatility of family types in the inner city compared with the total city. In 1991 figures show that of all families in the inner city one parent families made up 27% (now just 10%), two parent families 16.7% (now 19%), and couples-only approximately 56% (now 63%). This compared with 1991 figures for the total city of 18% of one parent families (still 18%), 45.4% two parent families (now 42%), and 37% couples only (now 40%). Those defined as professional make up 14.7% of the inner city population compared with 12.5% for the total city, 17.5% have no qualifications compared with 30.1% in the total city, and 15.8% of the inner city population have a bachelor or higher degree, compared with 9.2% in the total city. Separate houses make up 20.9% of the total in the inner city compared with 75.1% for the total dwelling stock of the city.

Home ownership patterns continue to be almost the reverse of wider Christchurch, with 71.3% inner city residencies rented, and 22.4% owned. The 1986 census showed 22% of dwellings in Christchurch were rented with this figure unchanged in 1991. There has been an increase in this figure however as the 1996 census shows 27.4% of dwellings in

Christchurch are now rented. This rise in the number of houses that are rented will be of considerable interest if in subsequent years it is proven that this develops into a definite trend. This research will attest to the critical importance of security of tenure through which people continue to accomplish a sense of self and place. The implications of housing policy have had a significant bearing on past and present notions of home and home ownership. An awareness of this will help in planning for the future and the development of possible alternative strategies as people seek a better fit between their needs and aspirations, and their residential environments. The age structure, de-emphasis of 'the family' as the basis for households, educational standards, the style of housing, and the pattern of tenure remain defining features of the inner city residential character. Recent developments have resulted in changes, such as the significantly lower number of single parent families now residing in the inner city area. The disproportionate rise in property values in the central city over recent years (see figure 5) would help explain this change as the gentrification process displaces many lower income residents. The rise in the number of couples and those in the 15-44 age group, plus the greater percentage of professional persons and those more highly qualified, is consistent with this trend.

Figure 5



5. d: THE CITY PLAN AND URBAN CONSOLIDATION

5.d.1: THE CITY PLAN

As detailed in the previous chapter the recent extensive restructuring, legislative changes particularly the RMA, and local government reorganisation enacted by the 1989 amendments to Local Government Act, 1974, are having a significant effect on the urban landscape. The result of these events, and the interpretation made of them by the Christchurch City Council, culminated in the contents of the 1995 proposed district plan, known as the City Plan (PCE, 1997:4). It derives from the requirements of the RMA that state a city plan must give the objectives, policies, rules and methods required to achieve the purposes of the RMA. The major role of the plan is to address the adverse effect activities may have, as this is seen as being the cornerstone of the sustainable management of the natural and physical resources (CCC, 1995, Vol.3.). This effects based, rather than a permitted use based planning regime, represents a major shift in planning policy. In the discussion to follow what will become obvious is the contentious nature of what it is that needs to be sustained, how that should be achieved, and what is to be judged an adverse effect and who is to decide this. These issues impact on the supply side of the housing market in the inner city as well as impacting on the amenity values of the area.

Recognition of urban growth as a major resource management issue has shaped the present district plan development, with recent demographic trends and economic factors highlighting the contentious nature of residential policies. The new plan describes the city's urban consolidation policies as being the most sustainable urban growth option available. Reasons given are energy efficiency, transport savings, environmental decay, social malaise in the inner city, better use of existing infrastructure, and a compact pattern of development (CCC, 1995: Vol. 2. 6/3). An increase in population density over the whole urban area is to be achieved by restricting the release of urban land for peripheral urban development, this being the 'key component of consolidation' (CCC, 1995, Vol.2, 6/4). The plan states that the regulatory option of zoning rules continues to provide

spatial differentiation ‘...in order to achieve generally common environmental results through broad identification of the purpose for which the land resource is to be used within zones, and to provide standards to regulate the establishment and operation of activities within these zones according to the scale of their effects’ (CCC, 1995: 15/5). This statement highlights the RMA focus on the management of effects of social and economic activities, not the promotion or planning for these activities.

The other part of this Council policy is the encouragement of higher densities around community focal points and the central city (CCC, 1995, Vol. 2, Policy 6.1.1.). This is achieved by zoning, rules related to residential site density, open space and building height, and allotment sizes and dimensions. Provision of works and services such as the development of public open space, water supply, drainage and roading programs and environmental enhancement of older parts of the city are also incorporated into achieving this objective. Associated with spatial relationships between living, business and employment areas is the promotion of the central city as the principal focus for commercial, administration, employment, cultural, and tourism activities (Policy 6.2.1). The vitality of this area is described as ‘...an essential component of consolidation strategy, and the provision of effective public transport.’ As part of its character objective policy 11.1.3 promotes ‘change in the character of selected areas through encouraging in-fill and site redevelopment.’ The central city living area is identified as high density, with much in-fill in suburban areas now deemed to be inappropriate and consequently restricted.

Policy 12.1.5 outlines the Council’s mechanisms for encouraging new purpose built residential apartments. These include incentives such as assessing reserve contributions in the same way as for business activities, lower car parking requirements compared with living areas, street and public space improvements in association with residential developments and advice on property developments and opportunities. Advantages of this type of development are seen as ‘ enhancement of “street life”, security of the area at night, patronage of businesses, with additional benefits of proximity to work, which will reduce traffic congestion and thereby improve energy efficiency (CCC, 1995, Vol.2

12/6).

Other methods listed in the annual draft plan, intended to encourage residential activity and development are the provision of entertainment activities such as Summer Times, Spring Festival; provision of works and services within the central area such as the Worcester Boulevard, public toilets, acquisition of civic facilities such as the Crèche; co-ordination of interested parties to promote activities and development; funding of the Canterbury Tourist Council; development of specific plans such as the concept for Cathedral Square. Other recent Council inner city initiatives include the \$20 million Convention Centre and commitment to extend services of the central library; invest \$6.5 million over the next two years on the Centennial Pool redevelopment; begin a three year \$7.2 million redevelopment of the Cathedral Square; further promote the life of the inner city by spending \$450,000 to introduce an electric shuttle bus service; commit \$625,000 to saving the City's historic buildings; invest \$135,000 in nine security cameras for the inner city; increase contributions to the Canterbury Museum by spending \$515,000 for upgrading of exhibits and displays; net cost estimates of \$234,427 for Central City promotions and \$607,524 for Central City Retail marketing, budgeted for the next financial year; and the construction of a new city art gallery on the corner of Worcester Boulevard/Montreal Street programmed to start in the year 2000 (CCC, 1997b).

These examples of an extensive array of non-statutory provisions undertaken or initiated by the Christchurch City Council reflects a move by many local governments in the 1990s to increasingly adopt a proactive role in fostering local development and employment as a result of the more permissive regime introduced in 1989. It is all part of the process whereby, 'Business, finance, and government at all levels converge on urban space to alter or transform it, because in most cases class fractions of capital require it, the property sector produces it, and the government has made it profitable to do so' (Gottliener, 1985:68). In Christchurch the Council has actively encouraged and participated in urban entrepreneurialism to maintain and enhance advantages of particularly the inner city area as a site of production and consumption. The historical heritage of the area has been actively promoted. The words of one resident reflected

feelings of most of those interviewed:

This is a very unique area. The things I love about this place is the views of all the old roof tops...the history...the situation of the place is amazing...I could never go back to the suburbs.

Without exception all residents interviewed for this study have cited the personal pull of a mix of enhanced cultural, recreational, entertainment, social and retail amenities as a significant factor in their moving decision.

The results of these policies are not entirely neutral or beneficial however. As Le Heron and Pawson (1996) argue it is questionable whether efforts to enhance advantages of particular places are pursued to ‘...promote the general well-being of the public’, rather than that of specific interest groups, such as business, tourists or the professional middle-class (:292). They also note that provisions made for markets, and the promotion of outdoor concerts are selective as not all can take advantage of these landscapes (:336).

5. d. 2: THE DEBATE SURROUNDING URBAN CONSOLIDATION AND THE REGULATION AND RULES OF THE CITY PLAN

Urban consolidation is justified by council on clear and demonstrative environmental terms. What is often lacking from the rhetoric describing and justifying these policies are the social and economic consequences for individuals. Enhanced living environments may or may not result from higher densities but there is not necessarily a direct correlation between sustainability, as the term is now being applied, and residential satisfaction. The contention of this study is that the expectation and realities of residency for individuals needs to be considered with far more depth and sensitivity.

The effects of the Council’s policies in the inner city continue to gather momentum,

fuelled by the activities of the real estate and building industries, the property speculation and investment climate, and the decision of many residents to move into inner city apartments. For the residents in this study clear and significant advantages arising from their move can be shown. It is important to understand this phenomenon to illustrate the impact of policy and residential conditions for all citizens in the city. What is important to demonstrate is that urban consolidation is not necessarily a neutral, technical process. It is a strongly value laden concept and has a direct and significant effect on the style and location of the homes we live in. In this respect the City Plan becomes in fact an ideological document that will promote the interests of some at the exclusion or expense of others.

There is continuing high demand for residential sections in some areas of the city and concerns have been expressed about potential shortages of land for residential development in the future. As at June 1996, within the urban boundary of the city there were 2,925 vacant lots with an area of 278 ha, 589 ha of unsubdivided land, and 158 ha of zoned land having potential for further development (C.C.C., 1996a). However Miles Yeoman, partner in the valuing firm of Binns Barber Keenan, (The Press 26-3-97:47), highlighted the contentious nature of these figures. He stated that the estimate of how much land is available range from the Christchurch City Council's estimate of 1000ha to others who say it is much closer to 600-700 ha. Of that figure 425 ha is classified as hill which attracts a take up of only 16-17 ha a year. In his analysis, if 700 ha is accepted as the available land figure including the hill land, there is only 275 ha of flat land available or 4-5 years left before saturation is reached. Whatever the correct estimate is the council has acknowledged that it '...is becoming evident that the provision of land for urban development in existing and proposed district plans for Christchurch and neighbouring authorities is likely to be inadequate to meet needs over this (two decade) period ' (CCC, 1997:7).

In Christchurch land prices have escalated at a much faster rate than in Auckland and Wellington, and faster than house prices. In 1990 in Auckland the average section value as a percentage of the average house price was around 40% and in 1996, 39%. In

Christchurch the corresponding rates were 39% in 1990 and 49% in 1996 (The Press, 26-3-97:47). It is generally held that the Auckland property market has caused inflationary pressures, keeping interest rates high and for first homebuyers creating more difficulties.

Economic factors were highlighted in a study, 'The impact of the Resource Management Act on the housing and construction components of the Consumer Price Index', August 1996. The author Owen McShane called on the Christchurch Council to acknowledge the social and economic cost of protecting the green belt. He noted similar demand but a much higher rate of increase of house prices in Auckland and Christchurch than other areas in New Zealand. This was put down to changes in the regulatory framework that has accompanied the implementation of the RMA here, seriously restraining the ability of subdividers and house builders to respond to rapid changes in demand and to keep costs under control. In his analysis the result of the Council's policies of containment has resulted in in-fill housing, along with a wave of protests using the RMA to stop it. This has been accompanied by increased direct charges councils levy on applicants seeking consent approvals, increases in general rates for administration purposes, and the costly time delays to get plans approved (The Press 23-9-96:11). Peter Yeoman, a partner in Davis Ogilvie & Partners, Christchurch, also warned of the critical shortages of sections and escalation of prices that could be expected (Canterbury Digest, Spring, 1996:23). With a projected population increase from 312,000 to 350,000 / 360,000 over a 15 year period and the time lag of some two and half years from submitting a consent for a new subdivision and occupation the need to plan for the highest case scenario to prevent shortages is clearly recommended.

Ivan Thomson, senior planner in the environmental policy and planning unit of the CCC, (The Press, 18-10-96 :9) in an article, 'Christchurch: a city all dressed up but with nowhere to grow', spoke of the city's growth rate of just under 2% a year as putting pressure on residential land and services within the urban area. As he stated competing interests are producing incompatible demands as a significant growth in the regional economy is fuelling demand for houses. Some are insisting that no further development be allowed on the green belt, on the Port Hills, or are trying to prevent in-fill. He did

acknowledge that future home owners are not prominent in discussions, but the Council's efforts to increase availability of sections to counter the high prices has often met with delays in the statutory process. According to Thomson this 'middle of the road approach of the Council' has resulted in it being more difficult for in-fill in 70% of the city, and has concentrated high density in the central city areas. The 500 sections projected to cover needs made in 1992, have proven to be inadequate. In his analysis the RMA was designed to free development but it came under attack from community groups who 'have taken the opportunity to interpret the act in such a way and oppose developments and it can take up to five years for the legal process to take its course'. In this article he denies the RMA 'has put urban planning to bed', however he said the Council needs to justify regulatory intervention in market processes.

Consultation is an important part of this process with pressure on councils to be more transparent. This has reinforced community expectations to be consulted. Competing forces create a major contradiction – consultation versus market efficiency producing ongoing tension between local communities and development interests.

An interpretation that can be taken from these statements is that the council is more concerned with the inherent nature of the consultation process and resulting time delays than attempting to reconcile any underlying ideological basis of difference. The 'major contradiction' of consultation versus market efficiency is stressed as causing the ongoing tension, rather than the underlying convictions of those opposing all or some developments who '...have taken the opportunity to interpret the act in such a way and oppose developments.' The interpretation of the act by Council or developers is not called into question.

Justification for the consolidation policies will vary and are understandable but a denial of effects is harder to fathom. Ivan Thomson (1997), senior planner (planning policy) with the CCC, when reacting to an assertion that the Council was subverting the intention of the RMA by creating land shortages and consequently causing an unjustified rise in

property prices, explained the rationale of its consolidation policies this way.

the process of urbanisation had to be managed through some intervention in the location of urban growth...urban consolidation was favoured because...its cheaper to finance...easier to manage air pollution, reduce vehicle trips and encourage non-polluting heating...less pressure on soil and water resources, landscape, rural amenities, and the rural environment generally.

Property prices are driven by location, irrespective of the what the council does....As long as some areas of Christchurch are perceived by the market as being desirable, or have potential for investment, then they too will increase in value and landowners will want to achieve the highest and best use. This is basic economic theory....If some people on low incomes are being shut out of the housing market this is because of imperfections in the property market and many other factors....interesting paradox, the more freedom we have the more controls we seem to need to police that freedom.

(emphasis added)

This attitude, that appears to be dismissive of the economic and social effects of planning policies, is indeed disturbing coming from somebody described as a senior planner. 'Market' and 'best use' (best for whom?) rationalisation of the property developments in the inner city, whilst ignoring the impact of Council policies, is certainly a revealing statement. His is not a lone voice however. For example in the course of this study an elected member of the Council, when asked if the Council policies were detrimental to land availability and consequent high values replied.

I say that is rubbish, absolutely. Owners of land can put whatever price they like on their land. The Government valuers come along and put their values on... it has got nothing to do with the Council....It's the market that pushes up land prices. The developers can't have it both ways. They want the free market but when the market pushes up land prices they want the council to step in.

Bob Nixon, a senior planner for the CCC, but giving a personal opinion concerning 'Peripheral Urban Growth.' (1997), questioned the Council's green belt policies. Anecdotal reports would suggest that this view was very much against public opinion which tends to regard the 'green belt' as an untouchable icon and part of the city's heritage, even as in-fill development was opposed.¹⁵ In Nixon's opinion any justification for regulatory intervention to control urban growth must be related to managing adverse effects within the framework of sustainable management and in Christchurch there has been an undue preoccupation with the protection of versatile land for sometime. His call was for a rejection of the interventionist policies of the past that he considered were being unduly retained and could not be considered sustainable under the present RMA climate. He questioned the success and necessity of a regulatory greenbelt that only arrived in the 1960's, arguing that its apparent success was largely attributable to low population growth in the period from the early 1970's until the early 1990's. His focus was on what he called the 'widespread hostility' created by in-fill developments.

This is not necessarily the type of environment that New Zealanders may wish to associate with, still less have imposed on them by wise greenbelt planners.councils will marginalise the effects that restricting the supply of land has on land prices ...but... the rate of inflation in land prices has far exceeded the general increase in the rise in the consumer price index... This would seem to provide a prima facie evidence that must be a section 32 consideration, (RMA) as restrictions that impose costs on people's ability to house themselves, is a matter that the council is required to consider.

He disagreed with the argument

that our present housing is politically or otherwise unacceptable and we should be basing our housing on European higher density housing and encouraging in-fill, but only as long as it is in somebody else's backyard. Further peripheral growth is not necessarily unsustainable at this time.

¹⁵ Related to this situation is an explicit study of political rhetoric in the case of greenbelt policy in planning by Rydin and Myerson, (1989) that was quoted as part of the growing recognition of emotional appeal in the framing of policy. Described as a 'collective poem' in which the green belt is to the city as the garden is to the home. (see Kemeny, 1992:105)

Marc Baily, principal of Boffa Miskell Ltd. a company involved in residential developments (1997), provided an opposing point of view. He believes the approach that would be more effective at achieving new urban environments which meet the purposes of the Act are those which are more, not less, like the interventionist approaches of the past. Typically now the approach is to rely on rules, performance standards and guidelines as methods for planning and realising sustainable urban environments. Development is now able to occur which has no connection to existing urban areas as plans and methods are unable to work at a fine enough level or with the required finesse within the prevailing hands-off, effects based, bottom-line-driven approach to policy and management. As a result of the Act the rules, by their generic nature, the spatially undefined nature of their application, and decision making, by its incremental nature, are, in his opinion, resulting in District Plans being doomed to fail. The focus of his argument is they are unable to provide the required level of management for achieving the purposes of the RMA.

Quoted in The Press (13-8-97:11), when writing as a senior planner for the council, Bob Nixon's approach was more conciliatory than when speaking personally. In the article 'Attempting the impossible – to please everyone with City Plan' his summary highlighted the opposing arguments surrounding the Council's interpretation of the RMA. He commented on those who wanted more regulation, for the community to determine resource use, and for a strong social and economic dimension to resource management. In contrast he noted the opinion of those who wish to confine regulation to an absolute minimum and only address adverse effects of the use of resources. And -

Finally there are those like Peter Beaven who are just confused.

The Business Owners' and Managers' Ass. (BOMA), have attacked the plan as a grossly interventionist creation of environmental utopians, inspired by new urbanism and a hostility to the free market.

The Housing Coalition talks of "mounting frustration with the city plan and its market-driven ideology, combined with its hands-off approach to development".

One side will make accusations of council indifference to community concerns, and a lack of social conscience, and the other will claim undue burden on the local and national economy.

The focus of many architects and others involved in the supply-side of inner city housing regard the nature of the council's imposed new rules and regulations to be responsible for many highly inappropriate and ill-conceived developments being built in the area. Their argument seems to be not so much to do with intervention *per se* but who should be able to intervene. Peter Beaven, criticising the city plan for having no architectural or urban design content, also described the plan as being contrary to the RMA. By

...setting up the closest knit structure of codes possible, the CCC has ignored the intent of the RMA by not looking at the city's built urban fabric as a precious resource. What was called for was for those '...who know the rules, the architects, developers, builders... etc to arbitrate what buildings should come down and what should replace them. (The Press, 4-8-97:9)

Mr Nixon's response included

...astonishment at suggestions that appear to favour a professional elite determining how applications should be considered....demands for the removal of standards or codes in the name of design freedom are merely a smokescreen for removing the rights of affected people....subjectivity cannot be given legal certainty which is required under the RMA.(The Press,13-8-97).

A senior architect and consultant planner compared some of the apartment buildings that are now being built with this 'legal certainty', with the much criticised sausage type flat developments of the 1960's and 70's.

They look like quite polite cocktail sausages in scale compared with these large saveloys now being built. The whole thing is just abysmal and there is worse to

come. We need to show how it can be done rather than allow the system to create these terrible things that do comply. Yes, they have been designed by the District Scheme.

Another architect, who is active in the apartment market, explained the situation to me this way.

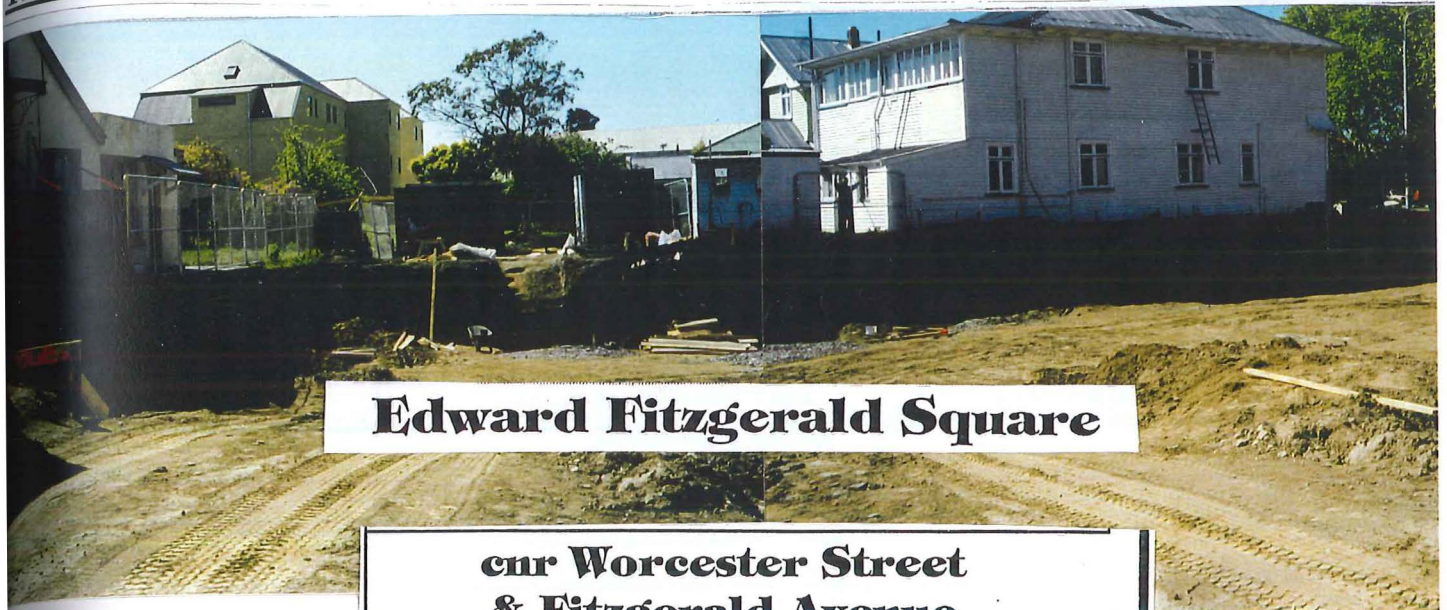
The council are absolutely disgraceful. They ignored all the main players of inner city design....they did what has never been done before in history and set up a series of codes that are irrelevant to the economic or social fabric, or aesthetics or history of the town. We spend half our time arguing with the stupidity of it. It bears no recognition with how people live in cities. With clever operators - the council is wealthy, they can afford clever operators...we have codes formed without any seeing eye, history or tradition, or consultation of any sort.

The emphasis of community groups, and particularly the Inner City East Housing Coalition (1997), has been on the existing social, cultural and political relations and their interconnectedness in the community. From their perspective the gentrifying process is having devastating results,¹⁶ creating the -

...new mythological social landscape, ... a new language is created as this redeveloped area seeks to establish an air of refinement, elegance and urbanity offering life-style opportunities, housing choices, convenient central city living and development and investment opportunities for those who want to ride the value curve and who want results in real estate (1997).

(see over: The Inner City [east]Gentrification Process. The Past: The Present: The Future)

¹⁶ In an area between Tuam, Madras, Armagh and Stanmore Rds., over the previous twenty four months to June 1997, nine major townhouse developments averaging ten units were built; five townhouse developments averaging ten units are under construction; one thirty six unit high-rise apartment complex is planned; three boarding houses have been converted to other uses; ten houses are on the market; and an estimated one hundred and fifty bedsits have been demolished. 62.4% of the area's population earn less than the average income; the vast majority are on welfare benefits; 75% live in rented accommodation; and 28% are unemployed; and higher than average numbers of Maori and ethnic minority groups, especially Asian and Somali refugees are living there. (Inner City East Housing Coalition, 1997)



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The complex features strong architectural lines and is constructed from a combination of low-maintenance building materials.

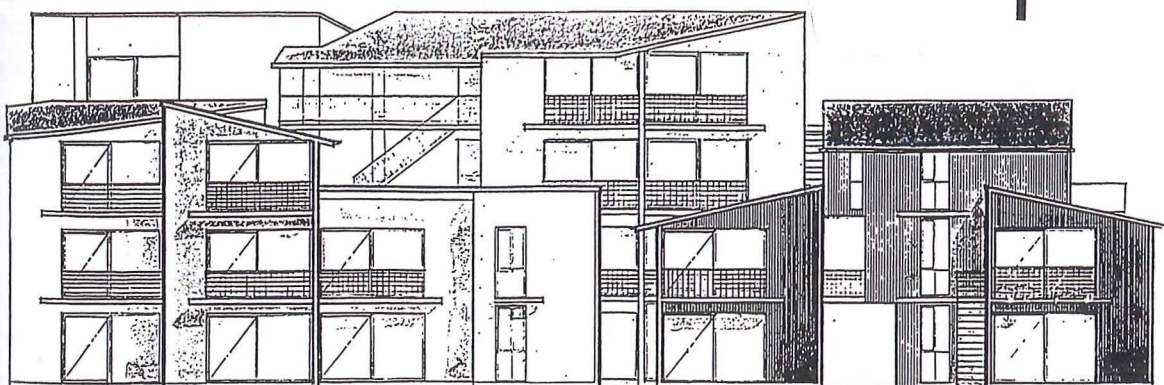
Each unit will be complete with kitchens that include combined oven, hob, dishwasher, waste disposer and rangehood plus a combination washing machine/dryer.

There is a substantial basement garage with parking for each unit.

THE PAST

THE PRESENT

THE FUTURE



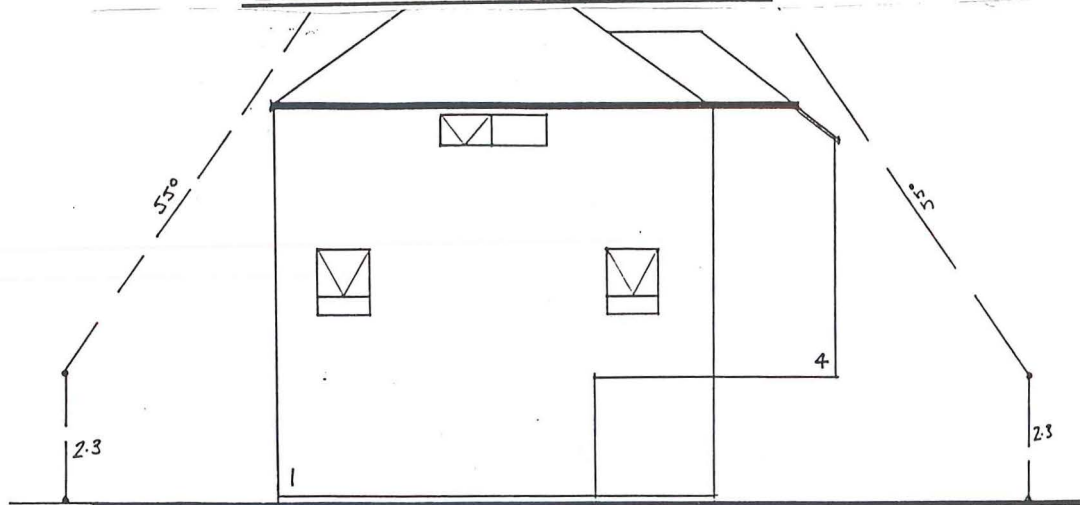
The reality for many living in the older bed sits is exposing the impossibility of the 'market' to retain low-cost housing as the needs of the affluent are being met, many would say, at the expense of marginalised, lower-income earners. The difficulty of reconciling effects with stated intent is plain. The city plan (vol. 1) defines the interrelated goals of sustainable development as: ensuring all society's needs are met; ensuring all members of society have their needs met, and; ensuring all development is sustainable over time in a social, economic, and environmental sense.

The interpretation made of this will vary. There will always be those who do not want to see any change in the residential nature of any area within the inner city, but many will welcome change. Public debate varies between a focus on the frustrations of time delays, financial costs, and design compromises that are caused by what many in the industry regard as unnecessarily rigid rules. These result in detracting from rather than enhancing the quality of buildings, and their relationship to the neighbourhood. The other side of this argument is the widespread concern over the inappropriate design and scale of many inner city apartment developments that have been built but which actually do comply with Council requirements. Almost without exception this was one of the most commonly expressed concerns of all groups contacted in the course of this study. (see over: Example of 'Design by the City Plan')

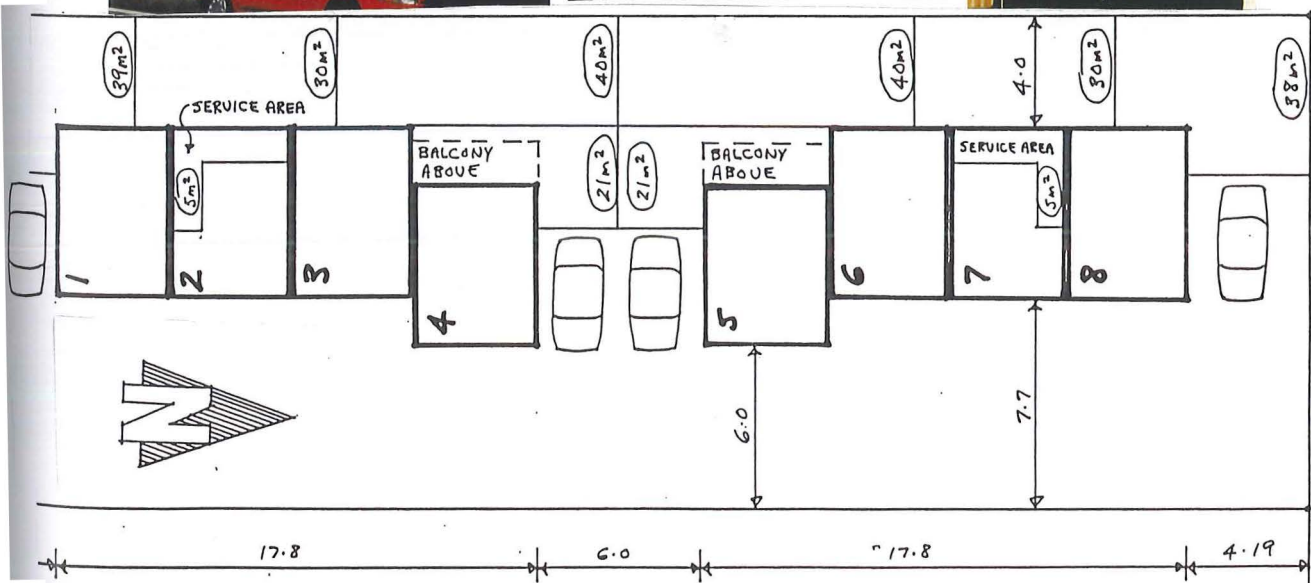
Affordability and access to appropriate housing for all remains the basic issue, and provision will always be restrained by economic and environmental limitations. Even as many residents of the inner city are being forced out of the area by the gentrification process, there remains great variation in the price range of new apartments in the market. The residents who have participated in this study range from owners of apartments that have market values of between \$150,000 to approximately \$600,000, and over. As a resident of a new apartment in the lower end of this range, and one that could be described as fitting the description of the much criticised 'savaloy type' developments, said,

When we looked it was first the location. We didn't want another house, that was definite. We are busy people... we didn't want the maintenance and we didn't want

'DESIGN BY THE CITY PLAN'



SOUTH ELEVATION.



a yard. The apartment was pretty basic so it was not so much the style, but we liked it. The guy who built them has kept them quite basic to sought of make them a realistic price for people. I think he understands people are moving into town but they can't pay too much... They don't seem to have too much trouble selling these... they are really priced very well.

A builder/developer, who also does the design work for his units and who is responsible for many inner city developments, gave me his perspective of the city plan and the effect it has on his operation. Many of the reasons why a great number of recent additions to the inner city housing stock, that are so publicly and severely criticised, look the way they do can be found in this explanation.

When you are developing you want to buy land and develop it as quickly as possible. If the new plan is restrictive you will design something that suits the plan but does not necessarily suit the site, but you can have it through in thirty working days. Something which may be better for the site but may require far more resource consents or be notified or get neighbour's consent, then you are looking sometimes at three months. Now you don't want to do that. I don't. You might be able to afford that on the northern side but when you are working on the eastern side, and the margins are smaller you have got to move on with it to make it profitable. What is often more desirable is not allowable as easily under the new plan. An easy option is not always the best though. You used to be able to have a comprehensive development where they looked at the whole development. Now they only look at individual points which now require resource consents. You now often need neighbour's consents which we shy away from, and notified consents which are even worse. My designs are to the [city] plan. I suppose these restrictions are more frustrating for the genuine architect who is trying to put his (sic) mark on things, to make it look better than the council restrictions will allow.

Concern over the effects of the Council's policies and management of urban

intensification has not only been generated by those directly involved or affected. Recognising the significant effects on amenity values¹⁷ from suburban intensification, the office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (PCE) last year included Christchurch as a case study as part of an investigation into local authority management of these matters (PCE, 1997). In a discussion of the issues this investigation identified many examples of incompatible styles and designs resulting from suburban intensification in the city. The scale of development, the rate of change and the cumulative effects on the architectural design and character of areas undergoing intensification were highlighted. Further resources were called for in the urban design area (PEC, 1997:37). Also an ‘...additional research topic that would be very beneficial would be monitoring social changes resulting from higher density development and the change of amenity values’ (PEC, 1997:39) was noted. In the assessment of the office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment there were some potentially conflicting policies in the proposed plan relating to the maintenance of amenity values and changes resulting from increasing levels of intensification. There was a call for a more proactive approach by Council to ensure the adequate management of amenity values. A need to develop further design guidelines and to ensure these were supported by the district plan provisions so that they have to be taken into account by resource consent applicants was highlighted. Although monitoring on the state of amenity values is proposed for the general suburban area it was noted that none was proposed for medium-high density areas. Also although amenity values are recognised in general terms across the city for the suburban area and particularly for the special amenity areas (SAMs), less recognition is made of the amenity values and community aspirations in the medium-high density areas (PCE, 1997:42).

¹⁷ The proposed plan defines amenities values to have the same meaning as in Section 2 of the RMA; “those natural and physical qualities and characteristics of an area that contribute to people’s appreciation of its pleasantness, aesthetic coherence and cultural and recreational attributes.” Key aspects of city

5. e : THE CONSENT PROCESS

The debate concerning the new developments varies between those who do not want any replacement of older buildings at all, to those who definitely do want change but feel the requirements of the city plan are countering efforts by those in the industry to provide the best design options at the best possible price. As the urban landscape in the inner city area of Christchurch is being dramatically altered the provisions of the RMA are impacting on the ability of groups and individuals to influence the style and rate of change. The RMA requires a wider consultation process to take place before any development, that does not comply with the city plan, can proceed. All persons have a right to be heard in any subsequent hearings and developers must provide a comprehensive review of effects and mitigating actions resulting from their building plans.

As the debate surrounding the submissions to the new city plan and the Council's residential policies will show, conflict has resulted from the different interpretations made by councillors, council staff, community groups, the building and real estate industry, and individuals concerning the purposes of the RMA within the urban setting, and desirable outcomes resulting from the nature of new developments. Compounding these differences the council staff decide whether plans for a development complies with the city plan or whether it needs to be publicly notified. For example the redevelopment of the illustrated high-profile site in Park Terrace(see : 89) has resulted in the attempted prosecution of the developers for the removal of protected trees from the site, and a public outcry at the council's decision not to publicly notify the plans for the construction of three high-rise apartment towers on this corner site on the edge of Hagley Park. The fact is that if a planned development does not contravene the RMA or the City Plan, the Council is bound not to publicly notify. No matter how abhorrent or out of context the intended physical reality of the new building appears to be to concerned citizens, or how vociferous the protest is, the Council is unable to make changes to its rules that are

amenity are the garden city image, the external appearance of buildings, interesting and varied public space, landscape quality and vegetation, and public safety. (PEC, 1997:19)

Park Terrace: Changing Landscapes



retrospective. However, as with the intended development for this Park Terrace site, there are often what appear to be subjective judgements on the part of Council staff as to what constitutes significant departures from the Plan that would necessitate notification. Sufficient legal decisions have yet to be given to establish with greater certainty a base from which these matters can be decided, or contested. Decisions are therefore to a considerable extent subjective and open to wide interpretation, with a considerable amount of power now in the hands of the planners. This is a very contentious issue and has a significant impact on those who are attempting to design high density developments within the constraints of the rules of the plan, developers who wish a particular development to proceed with the greatest efficiency and speed, and those who oppose all, or some aspects of the new development. It is an area which reveals considerable power imbalance within the community as different groups and individuals attempt to influence the style of buildings and the general streetscape and character of the inner city area.

A resident of the inner city for the past ten years had contested the building of a low-rise complex that now blocks his sun for three months of the year and removes his back-yard privacy totally.

I had the new building surveyed and proved it contravened the recession planes. I took them to court but got nowhere. They (the developers) were in cahoots with the council I think. After the case the council did bring in a rule that buildings close to a recession plane need to be surveyed...but...it cost me about \$8000....What needs to be done is residential groups need access to finance to make representation to council, because what they actually do is they drag it on and make it so expensive that you cant carry on as an individual. You get beaten into the ground.

From another perspective a developer/real estate agent spoke of continuing frustration with council decisions to focus on very small aspects of a plan, that on their own do not comply, to force public notification of the total development.

The RMA is fine in theory but it can be very punitive...it has become a total farce....The council have also misinterpreted the Building Act. They have put a whole layer of management in for the purposes of certification, whereas the Building Act was meant to free up the process. The onus was meant to be on the provider where it jolly well should be. The council have interfered deliberately...they are totally incompetent...they will approve something and then in the middle of a project they will change their minds....I have had some horrifying experiences....it's impossible.

Developers are however able to avoid the substantial cost and time delays of having non-complying developments proceed without the need to be publicly notified and heard, by obtaining consent from immediate neighbours to the proposed development. This provision has the potential to allow for a more consultative, open approach between those developing property and those who may be affected by the changes, without needing to

have recourse to the courts. The move is away from an adversarial approach to one that is more about arbitration, but private resolutions will often be made for short term gains of only those who are most directly involved, with little concern for the future or the wider community. Also the consent process provides an example of a less interventionist, market approach that significantly downplays the power imbalance and less than perfect or equal access to information and control of processes that the different players will bring to these negotiations.

An example of a privileged position and power imbalance in these matters was noted at a recent New Zealand Institute of Architecture, Resource Management Act Seminar (23-9-97, Christchurch) attended by approximately twenty Christchurch architects and this researcher. Advice was given on management techniques and the need to commence the public consultation process at the beginning of a project to avoid the need to notify plans in the event of the council not initially granting a consent. The benefits of consultation were given as the legal requirements of the new regime were outlined. Public consultation was seen as offering a potential situation to judge the opposition and to discover 'entrenched positions'. It was also seen as the time to present impossible options to neighbours to 'encourage' compliance with a project. We were advised of the inability of Council, except in exceptional circumstances, to consider adverse effects if written consent was obtained from neighbours. It was stressed that this has the potential to bring great advantages to the architect and client. As Judge Treadwell admits '...resource consents can be to a degree be bought.' and evidence suggests a reduction in notified applications has resulted from the RMA (Section 94) provision for non-notification consent (see Collins, 1993; Treadwell, 1994; Gleeson, 1995; in Le Heron & Pawson, 1996:255).

Many residents who are asked for written consent for a non-complying feature of a neighbouring development will not realise the significance of written support, or short term financial gain taken as an inducement by owners who do not necessarily reside in the area, can be at the expense of general amenities of an area. Future generations and present tenants or owners of buildings will be making residential choices from housing

stock which may have had design features allowed as the result of factors which will often not be principally concerned with, or conducive to, the provision of an enduring, supportive living environment.

As population and housing densities increase so too do the requirements of skill and professional expertise of urban managers and those in the industry to cope with the multiplying of effects resulting from the intensification of the physical form and changed social relationships. The problems experienced by participants in this study from the inadequacies of a physical nature of many apartments are numerous. Information gathered from a national organisation involved in researching building methods and construction specifications, supported the existence of major concerns. These related to moisture problems, noise and maintenance issues.

Claddings are another major problem area. A lot of materials are used because they are cheap, and they do not last. They do have minimum requirements under the building code. It is a fifteen years guarantee for claddings on residential buildings, even if it is one of those huge high-rise buildings.¹⁸ These things are compounded in high density situations. Maintenance cost can be very high.

We get a lot of feedback about noise problems. Minimum standards are set but then everything is just built to the minimum. What we have to do is get everybody to lift their game a bit but I don't know how you do that. There would be enormous costs to the industry so you are going to find it very difficult to persuade people to increase those minimum standards.

This raises the question of who is actually setting those standards, or whose interests are being best served as criteria are established. In a market driven economy it is naïve to expect developers and builders of speculator / investor driven developments to generally

¹⁸ The European consensus is that for products which can be repaired or easily replaced the minimum working life should be about ten years; for those where the replacement requires more effort, it should be about thirty years; and for those where the working life needs to correspond to that of the construction works, it should be at least fifty years. These are the probable basis to be used for durability requirements for European Agreement Certificates, and contrast in their lengths to the comparably-defined 5, 15, and 50 year classes which we have in the New Zealand Building Code. (BRANZ, 1996:68)

perform or build to a standard that is higher than that required by the building code. When it is noted that the codes are deficient, particularly in high density developments, it is the end user of the product who will pay the real price of those deficiencies. They will do this in far more ways than a one-off economic cost. If it can be shown that the resulting living environment is lacking in basic standards of durability, finish or sound-proofing for example, an argument that an increase in building cost will result in the purchase price becoming unacceptably high will not be sustained from a social, physical or economic perspective. If the problem is a lack of ability or resolve to persuade the powerful building supply and construction industry to abide by increased standards then it is simply an abdication of responsibility on behalf of the institutions involved.

5. f: THE MARKET

As the pattern of residential development shows the policies of urban intensification have greatly affected the style and density of housing. As the focus of these policies continues to tighten to the inner city area the results are becoming obvious. In the inner city area property values and densities are increasing disproportionately to the rest of the city. Developers utilise the allowable site densities, paying the premium for the land partly because of the potential created by zoning and the marketability of the council funded improvements to the area. To maximise returns the greatest number of units per site will be built. Loss of amenities in the area can result as the report by the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (1997) noted. Also as indicated by my qualitative data and the experiences of residents the standards of design, construction and finish of the buildings can suffer. Building code specifications set minimum standards for residential buildings and these will be the target of most developments. The question needs to be asked whether, when setting official standards, there needs to be greater sensitivity or allowances made for high density living and the scale of the buildings now being built, albeit still defined as residential buildings. Also the initial speculation and investment funding of developments of mass housing (defined here as housing that involves a multi-ownership structure) has altered the level of any informal input or direct

control that is able to be exerted by the end user. The resident is generally far more remote from any design or finishing considerations than when building or purchasing a stand-alone house. In the course of this research several examples of significant changes and attention to design and finish detail made because the intended resident was in a position to control the design and building process, have been noted. This is not generally the case. The inner city apartment is providing an enhanced living environment for many although the construction of many developments are driven by market pressures of investors as determinants of their provision and their style. The end user's interests are often being subsumed within the nature of the commodification of the house that this change in the housing market represents.

As Gottdiener states at times of rapid growth, when there is a loose framework of business and institutional arrangements in which the coordination of planning takes place, a serious cost to society can result. 'Because money can always be invested with ease in the secondary circuit (property investment), such activity propels the never-ending process of property turnover and spatial restructuring, whether an area needs it or not' (Gottdiener, 1985:191).

The movement of people into inner city apartments suggests many residential developments are providing, in a range of prices, value and a desirable living environment. The market has responded to a demand that has in part been created by a combination of the many factors detailed above. The mass housing pattern that has emerged has been contained in a form dictated by urban consolidation policies, fueled by the cyclical patterns of the investment and real estate industry, and driven by individuals seeking a more satisfying or appropriate form of residency to suit their changing needs and expectations. Residents ability to control the direction and destination of the journey has been impaired by the terrain and the nature of the signage on the way. However the numbers deciding to embark on the journey and the influence of the associated motivations and fulfilled realities of an enhanced sense of ontological security that has resulted for those interviewed for this study lends support to '...the contemporary theory of structuration, which unites structural forces with voluntaristic modes of behaviour'

(Gottdiener, 1985:267). It is important to appreciate '...the role of agency, on the one hand, and structure, on the other, in the production of spatial phenomena and forms....spatial forms are contingent products of the dialectical articulation between action and structure. They are not pure manifestations of deep-level social forces; instead, they constitute a world of appearances which must be penetrated by analysis' (Gottdiener, 1985:199).

This analysis asks why apartments are now being built in the central city when zoning has always provided for a significant degree of high density development that was not utilised. Demand from owner-occupiers will only provide part of the answer. This has been influenced by the availability and cost of property due to consolidation policies, the local government sponsored enhancement of the inner city area, and most importantly the changing needs and expectations of residents as societal forces have impacted on the day-to-day life of individuals.

The share market crash of the late 1980's ended the central city commercial property boom, and apartment complexes were then seen as a possible alternative use of under utilised office complexes. The building industry had spare capacity and the uncertainties of the share market as an investment vehicle saw a resurgence in the promotion of, and attraction to, the residential property market as a 'more secure and stable place of investment'. Ten years after the event the promotional material of the real estate industry is still citing the failure of Equiticorp and Judgecorp as reasons to invest in the inner city. '...property is a sound form of investment....it generally holds its value, is visible, tangible, and within one's control....it provides adequate security for borrowing.' (Robert Brown, MREINZ, [motto - 'Defining the Inner City'], Christchurch). A residential property investment is now commonly promoted as the answer to the uncertainties created by the government's withdrawal from a commitment to provide adequately for future state funded superannuation payments.

A property developer for the past twenty years described his operation to me.

You have to go with the markets, and markets have cycles. The commercial cycle of the 1980's was overdone, and then there was the bust. So by 1991 / 92 the retail, office market was broke, and similarly with the industrial market. Then the residential market started to pick up with more immigration, and over the last five years people have been saying we need to make investments for our future. This is what has driven the market. We sell mainly to investors who have worked themselves into a position where they can make decisions off the plan. It all takes quite a bit of education for people to get used to living like this. They can't understand why it so expensive but they have no idea of the costs of developing. You pay for position. That is what it's all about. You have to maximise the number of units to make it feasible.

A real estate agent / developer's description of the process illustrates the nature of a significant section of the supply-side of inner city housing, and the role of the different players.

I work with about six to seven developers. I find the land and see which developer is free. As soon as they have confirmed the contract to buy the land I go to an architect. You see we could go to a draughtsman and you would always get two beds in and everything would be dead right but there would be no flair. I would rather have the flair. Yes, rather than design, that is true.

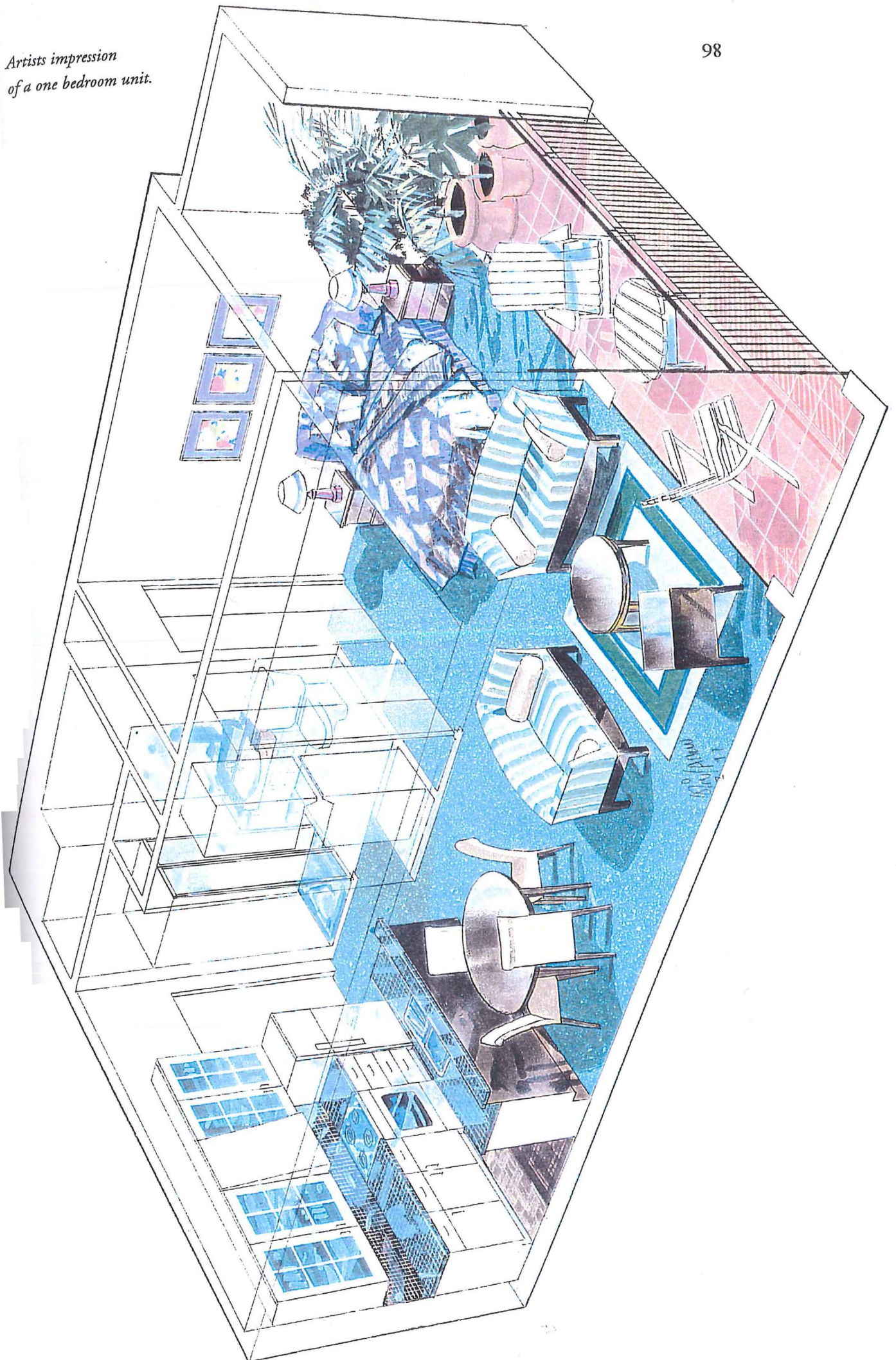
The units are small. If you make them bigger they just get more expensive and there are less on the site, but you know, the studio unit at 45 sq. m. is a big apartment¹⁹ - not much smaller than the bungalows we are putting up.

(see over for an artist's impression of a typical one bedroom unit)

We try to get 100% of sales before starting, but we will start at 60%. Generally the original buyers are not owner-occupiers. To my investors I say I will double their money by completion. You see you need these people. When I start I ring around my client base and immediately get 5-6 sales. I then get back to the office

¹⁹ In fact figures from Statistics New Zealand show the average new floor area of housing has risen from 138 sq.m. in 1991 to 170 sq. m. in June 1995. (Page, Ian, BRANZ, 1996)

Artists impression
of a one bedroom unit.



and talk about this and it starts a bit of a panic and others buy. That is how it is done. It is sustainable because you only have to look at Europe where 20% of the people own 80% of the property. The young people are renting because they want everything now. With their life style they don't want to save for a house, and on the average New Zealand wage how are they going to? It is still in its infancy but we have to get the people comfortable with what is going on.

Another developer made an interesting observation concerning the definition of a successful development and the criterion of establishing supply needs, reflecting the way mass or multi-ownership housing is changing the nature of the commodification of housing.

The secret is to really identify the market. There is this perception out there that there is an oversupply in the market but this has been largely brought about by the number of developments that are advertised in the media but do not go ahead. This is simply because developments need financing, you need capital and experience and pre-sales of at least 75%. When a development is 75% sold it is therefore a successful development. People have signed the contract, as it were, gambled by putting their name on a contract. They can't lose because if it doesn't get 75% sales it does not go ahead. When sales are made at this level it establishes that there is not an over-supply, effectively it has already been absorbed into the market. Pretty important that point... We then apply our skills at marketing, but we are so conservative here. It is probably an education thing.
(emphasis added)

The manner in which the scale of these residential developments can affect the built environment is indicated by an architect who is responsible for the design of many new multi-level units in the inner city.

When the developer is the builder too they cut out half the normal costings. The high-rise development was only built because they did not have to pay

middlemen and they really needed to keep their building teams going. This other development, the developer had to pay the builder and the only reason it was economic was we worked very hard to make a very standard building look good and be good... as architects we had to make a much cheaper building... all we had left was the shape. All these things are very explicit and thorough and this is how cities have always been built.

There is an unending market here if you get the economics and the quality of the architecture right, and the right spot. People are just so bored with the suburbs. It is a 50 / 50 owner-occupier investor mix buying, you can't stop that. It is the same around the world. There has to be a cushioning of investors. They have throughout history been the people who have built the inner cities. Our biggest constraint is the City Plan, it has no relationship to inner city housing. This is the real issue.

An acceptance of the nature and consequences of many specifics of the financing / developing / building process of these apartment-complexes was not considered with such favour by others with a professional interest in the area however.

The inner city developments are in the hands of about six groups. They have someone who will design what the developer wants. Of course it is driven by the dollar and the developer is able to cut corners. There is a lot of style but people can not see that it is made of 'paper' and is bad quality. The system allows terrible buildings that are no good in anybody's terms. The developers buy up all the land so it is very competitive. When the for sale notices go up they say four or five have already sold, but these are only paper sales – flick on sales – the biggest rip off, appalling, absolutely, and it will not be sustained. Quality suffers with this mass housing. Most units are bought by these paper names. They do not look at the designs, they do not care. Then it is too late. All their talk so often leaves out the resident. The resident is a by-product. I hate to be cynical but that is the reality of it. (Architect)

A lawyer involved in the selling process and management of many inner city units responded to a question concerning the quality of design and the position of the resident in the building process by giving a rather ambiguous statement that continues to reflect the attitude of many of the main players involved in the residential changes in the inner city.

The residents have the ultimate power. They don't have to buy the product. They have the choice, the absolute power.

This statement was followed immediately with the remark that –

Lots of these people buy these units off the plans and must be devastated with what they end up with, and many can not be on-sold.

The real estate industry has worked hard to promote the lifestyle with their marketing strategies. The names of the inner city developments such as The Grange on Armagh, Cambridge on Avon and West Fitzroy, are designed to evoke historical-nostalgic themes and exclusivity (see also Perkins, 1989). More than products of consumption are being sold as they promote images and satisfaction as important signs of self and class. Developers became agents in the reproduction and elaboration of a set of closely related hegemonic cultural values, but the very nature of what has become an exclusive suburb is in itself being threatened by the resulting developments. Material for the promotion of the Cambridge on Avon development is typical.

The opportunity for inner city living, such as these suburb luxury apartments extend, is nothing new – simply a re-invention.

With the exclusive location of Cambridge on Avon apartments, city living has SIMPLY COME AGAIN. Our city forefathers knew the convenience and enjoyed the atmosphere of inner city living....

Cambridge on Avon has been designed for people who will appreciate the tranquil setting on the banks of the Avon River and the opportunity to step back in time and enjoy the pleasures and convenience of Inner City Life.

The threat to the historic character of the area is a concern commonly expressed, as many landmark buildings have disappeared from the urban landscape. The Central Business District (CBD) is known to have 150 heritage buildings situated there, which is nearly half the city's total, but many are threatened. In a Press article, 'Christchurch's rush to destruction: a heritage under siege?'(19-7-97:3), it was acknowledged that Christchurch contains arguably the highest concentration of heritage buildings in the country, but now architectural and historical values, commercial development and land values are colliding. It is an irony that is difficult to solve in a profit driven free-market. Cramner Courts, P & D Duncan and Buchanan Buildings, and the proposed Peterborough Centre are notable examples of developments that have involved the restoration and possible avoidance from demolition of historic buildings because of residential development. However many more have been lost.

CRAMNER COURTS



The conflicting priorities of private ownership and public responsibility leads to tension and conflict. As one professional with extensive experience in the restoration of older buildings explained –

Many of these older buildings have a negative value. For the property owner it must be sustainable financially or it will be pulled down, or somebody else has to sustain it. The council places considerable pressure on property owners and you can take this any way you like but the council is fundamentally dishonest. They do not deal in a fair and evenhanded basis and you need to know this as it gives you a feel for where developers sit. ... there is a significant degree of reluctance and skepticism on the part of private property owners regarding the council's attitude to the retention of historic buildings. There are two sets of rules. One for them and one for developers. For example they sold the Government Buildings in the square for \$600,000 and then promptly gave the purchasers \$1 million to restore it.

5.g: CONCLUSION

The impact of the 'free-market' is clearly having a significant impact on the physical nature of the inner city. The opinions and justifications concerning the nature of the process and the resulting building forms are varied. They represent the perspectives of those who at one extreme are gaining significant financial benefits, to the other extreme of those who are being displaced physically from their residences of many years. The examples given have been chosen to illustrate the diversity of opinions held and the contentious nature of many of the issues. The purpose of this section has been to provide an overview of the context in which individuals are making choices, and in which the housing stock and physical residential environment is changing. By providing examples of the multiplicity of roles that are played out in the macro environment by key actors the diversity of real interests become clear. These will include conflicts of interest between,

and among, groups such as existing and new residents, developers, architects, Council, and commercial operators.²⁰

Ian Athfield an architect addressing a public meeting on inner city developments (ICON, 3-7-97) provided an interesting perspective.

We cannot continue to use the patterns of the past which were derived from the escape from the industrial revolution... We need to get rid of site related planning laws that ignore the bigger picture... We need to continually educate people, including Councilors, and designers. The food industry has done it and we have to do it with the physical world. Coffee has done more in five years than any architect has done in one hundred years. We established patterns which are about ownership and possession of land and we dictated our buildings by relationship to ownership and distance and didn't understand privacy... the interface between the public and private realm is a very important issue... this threshold is the most important space we can define. We have had it redefined for us by the coffee bar. ...We have to do that with our buildings... We need to understand the importance of the thickness of the walls, a need to understand acoustic isolation, and the need to produce housing that is respected by future generations. We need enlightened people who are not imprisoned in the past to see these things happen. We need some guidelines but more important we must understand one another. All these land densities and plans revolve around vested interests in land and money and that is why they do not change. I listen to the arguments and I see a lot of fear. What you need is to go into this new era with is a totally different level of optimism and strength.

²⁰ In the 1960's and 1970's Weberian influenced perspectives began to critique the ecological theories of urban development as urban interactions and processes became to be seen not as natural but managed and/or manipulated by relationships of power and class conflict. Work in New Zealand in the 1980's included studies of the conditions in which housing was allocated, as this was acknowledged as a key determinate of life chances (see Thorns, D., in Spooner, P., 1994:47). Rules and procedures, and the role of urban managers were focused on to help explain the obvious spatial inequality of society. This perspective contends improved resource planning and management is the proper basis of reform (Taylor *et al*, 1995:46).

As the reforms of the 1980's and 1990's impact on the rate of change in many areas of social life, changes in residential patterns are also being effected. The nature of our housing stock has been influenced by ideological concerns, with the continuing suitability or appropriateness of the resulting forms remaining largely unquestioned. A suburban life style has become the norm in New Zealand. The suburban stand-alone house, owned privately, was not chosen necessarily by residents because it provides the best possible residential environment but because it was the best option available. To understand why, and why this might be changing, there needs to be a clear understanding of the organisational and institutional framework within which consumer decisions are made, as the preceding historical perspective outlined.

This chapter has outlined some matters related to that material reality that will impinge upon the day-to-day activities of individuals as they seek a fit between their need for a sense of ontological security and their homes. This has included an extensive range of planning matters, local and national political decisions, design criteria, building codes, legal matters and sector interests. A deduction that can be made from the results of this study is many residents are making the choice to move into the inner city because for the majority, in comparison to a suburban stand alone house, it has offered greater potential to provide them with a sense of ontological security. However their move appears to have been made in spite of many factors associated with the present supply side of the housing market and residential provision that from a sociological perspective leaves a lot to be desired.

From the rationale behind the urban consolidation policies, the rules and regulations enforced to ensure compliance with a specific interpretation of the law, and the nature of mass housing and its commodification, the lack of an overall coherent strategy is obvious. The result is that residential patterns continue to form and change not principally because they are necessarily designed in the best interests of those who are to live in the houses, or from a point of view that has as its primary focus the significance and appropriateness of a residency. They are the result of a great variety of competing interests that get mediated through the built form. Competitiveness in the market place

and consumer demand will influence the direction and shape of residential patterns and forms but to proclaim or imply a belief in consumer sovereignty is to obscure reality and deny, or avoid, responsibility. As the next chapter on the perceived and experienced reality of residents of inner city apartments will demonstrate the material reality of the residence is fundamental to the means of maintaining a sense of ontological security for those interviewed. To understand the context in which it is sought is therefore essential.

CHAPTER SIX

THE INNER CITY APARTMENT AS A PERCEIVED AND EXPERIENCED REALITY

6. a: INTRODUCTION:

THE INNER CITY APARTMENT AS A SITE OF ONTOLOGICAL SECURITY

This section will draw on the research material gathered during in-depth interviews conducted with residents of inner city apartments in Christchurch. This material will be used to explore systematically, firstly the contention that the home, and ownership of the home, provides a means by which a sense of ontological security can be sustained. Secondly the style and location of the home, when considered in the context of New Zealand's housing history, the mythology that has built around the stand alone suburban house and the factors driving the supply-side of the apartment sector of the housing market, are central to this understanding of our homes as a site of ontological security. It is argued that the move to a non-traditional style of residency can then be seen as a confirmation of the continuing importance of the home as a source of ontological security.

To reiterate, this study of the move to inner city apartments is designed to build on existing work on the meaning of home, with particular reference to work done within the context of New Zealand society (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996, 1998). In particular this work by Dupuis and Thorns focused on the significance of owner occupation and the way meanings of home are context specific. This developed the Saunders and Williams' (1988) idea of the meaning of home reflecting the society around it. A contention of this present research is that changing residential patterns and the resulting change in ownership structures suggest a focus on tenure as a simple dichotomy of ownership or rental as the critical contrasting variables has become incomplete. It will lack adequate

sensitivity both to the nature of tenure *per se* and to an understanding of the physical and perceived ideal of our home as a social construct.

My findings from this study also support the emphasis given by Peter Somerville (1989) as he acknowledged Saunders and Williams' attention to the increasing importance of the private realm of the home but emphasized the need to explain the nature of the home with greater reference to its social context. Peter Saunders had conducted a household survey into the meaning of home in Britain (1989) and concluded there was no evidence of gender difference in how the home was regarded and valued. Saunders criticized Ann Oakley's argument which says the evidence of women endorsing home life is simply 'a rationalization of inferior status' (1974:223 in Saunders 1989:181). He did support the difference age makes to how a person would experience their home but again his age analysis was not gender inclusive. Somerville criticized Saunders' lack of understanding of fundamental gender and generational relations in the home, and by emphasizing 'consumption' and not 'production' the failure to appreciate how the two are closely linked. By choosing to concentrate only on the home as one unit this would fail to account for gender differences resulting from functional stereotypes with women involved in the lower status roles reflecting the traditional division of labour in society.

Within the New Zealand context research has shown how New Zealanders' concept of home appears to be changing with the interpretation made that the next generation would be much less committed to the home as the site of their ontological security. The analysis also offered by Dupuis and Thorns is that Giddens' argument of the undermining of the possibilities through which ontological security can be attained by the rapidly changing nature of the modern world, has an anti-urban tone. It is my suggestion that with a greater understanding of the manner in which we seek this sense of ontological security through our homes I believe that to emphasize personal ties and face to face contact need not necessarily be considered 'anti-urban'. An assumption that a rapidly changing world has undermined the possibilities through which ontological security can be obtained needs however to be reconceived. As residential patterns show a greater diversity of forms and locations what needs to be taken greater account of is the

relationship between the social and spatial aspects of housing. Individuals actively seek a sense of ontological security in their lives and they will do this in part by their choice of residency and for many this will be in a far more densely urbanised setting. The home when understood within the definition of the wider concept, residency, is not becoming any less the 'crucial locale' from where a sense of ontological security is maintained.

It is my argument that, in New Zealand society, intensification of urban forms and activities has provided new residents of the inner city with an environment that has been conducive to an enhanced sense of ontological security. It is also very important to note that for another group of people, smaller in number but with less options, who have been forced to leave the inner city because of the inherent nature of the gentrification process, the effects are most likely experienced in the reverse. For the majority of new residents who have participated in this study, in comparison to a suburban living environment, inner city living has involved significantly greater face-to-face contact and as the public/private boundaries which surround their homes have shifted due to shared management structures and shared spaces, the personal relationships engaged in have altered. The gentrification process exemplifies why it is security of tenure, achieved in New Zealand solely by home ownership, that is so vital to achieving and maintaining a sense of ontological security.

The purpose of this section is to apply a comparative analysis of the inner city apartment as a source of ontological security. Comparisons will be made with the findings of earlier research into the meaning of home for elderly New Zealanders conducted by Dupuis and Thorns (1998). They argued that the four conditions which need to prevail for a sense of ontological security to be maintained are: constancy in the social and material environment; an element of routine occurring in everyday life patterns; freedom from surveillance in some aspect of people's lives; and the establishment of a stable identity. I will apply the same framework to my analysis.

The motivations, priorities and realities of new residents in this area will provide an insight into the perceived and experienced reality of inner city apartment living. When

considered within the context of the societal and material reality of New Zealand's residential patterns this will highlight the manner in which a group of people, distinguished by the style and location of their homes, are coming to regard their homes. The issues raised concern our understanding of the extent to which a changing residential style reflects a need for, or the nature of, ontological security. As the location and style of residency as a means of maintaining ontological security changes this raises the issue of how this reflects, or affects, the society around it.

6. b : THE INNER CITY APARTMENT AS A SITE OF CONSTANCY IN THE SOCIAL AND MATERIAL ENVIRONMENT

This section will explore the extent to which a changed style and location of home is providing a basis for the condition of constancy in the social and material environment to be met. As defined by Dupuis and Thorns (1998) 'home' is an encompassing category that links together a material environment, the physical structure of a house, with a deeply emotional set of meanings to do with permanence and continuity. From earlier research into the meaning of home for older home owning New Zealanders Dupuis and Thorns (1996) argue that this sense of permanency associated with home is neither naturally occurring nor instant, but is created over time. Houses were bought and then made into a home. The two most commonly cited factors in this process of creating a home were ownership and family. Ownership brought security and stability, and the home meant constancy of family as children were raised in, and returned to, the family home. Of significance was the sense of economic security that home ownership gave and therefore the closely associated benefit of bequeathing the value of the home to children. This sense of continuity resulting from the owning of the home was stressed. Using the experience of my participants I will explore the process of making the apartment into a home; the importance of ownership as compared to renting; and the association of home

and family as necessary for a sense of permanency and continuity and therefore ontological security.

The age of participants in this present research varies, with the youngest homeowners being in their early thirties ranging up to their late eighties. My findings suggest the link between home, ownership and notions of permanency is a factor for residents in the inner-city but the links between economic security, children, and inheritance have for many been reconstituted or simply do not apply. Even for those over the age of fifty five who have children these factors have lost the emphasis suggested by earlier research. My research suggests this aspect of home as source of ontological security is different for younger age groups, but also for older New Zealanders it is a concept that needs to be refined to become more inclusive.

For many in society today family, children and home are not necessarily synonymous. As only three out of every ten families in New Zealand are now described as fitting the traditional nuclear family of a married couple and their children this is not surprising. (Swain, D., in Spoonley et al, 1994:Ch. 1.) A definition of a family needs to encompass blended families and single parents plus many childless households which may comprise couples, married or in de facto relationships, same-sex partners, or singles, or groups of singles etc. Examples from this study suggest the obligation many older parents have for their adult children would appear to be changing in nature as the realities of individual provision, changing demographic patterns, and the mobile, ever changing work patterns of younger generations become apparent.

Support for this contention can be found in the findings of the Succession Law Testamentary Claims. The discussion paper, Preliminary Paper 24, was the result of the Law Commission in 1993 undertaking a review the laws of succession in NZ, to take account of the diversity of New Zealand families. The need for review in part was given because of the need to keep up with changes in the matrimonial property law, and an acceptance of the inappropriateness of the past gendered and monocultural vision that was held of the family. One of the design criteria of good family law is given as the

desire to promote family cohesion by advancing a vision of the family which is widely shared in society, however it was stressed that, 'Any attempt to articulate such a vision is perilous' (Ch2: Par. 28: 8). The point was made that while in earlier times society may have stressed the importance of handing wealth down from one generation to another, in modern times the emphasis in family law has been on the nurture and education of younger children.

Results of this present study suggest the same cautions need to apply to an analysis of the meanings of home. Age and stage of life will be a contributing factor in how these matters impinge upon meanings of home but the evidence of those in the older age groups who have participated in this study do not support the findings of the earlier study of Dupuis and Thorns. Further work will need to be done before it is possible to establish the extent to which the nature of the sub-population who have made the move, has influenced this finding. However evidence is that family forms are becoming increasingly fluid, marriages dissolve, many couples are choosing not to (see Cameron, 1990), or are unable to have children, and same-sex partners increasingly establishing permanent households. This suggests that the attitude of those interviewed for this study, although perhaps not representative of the general population, will not be confined to those in this area. Employment patterns and consumption practices continually change, and as we move from collectivity towards greater individualism what has been regarded as constituting 'constancy' will also change. My point is that this does not necessarily equate to the home becoming any less important as a source of ontological security.

Home ownership remains a strong motivation as a buffer against loss of security and control in one's living environment, and as a means of providing a stable financial position in the future. Financial security associated with home ownership was referred to by participants as a means of securing life style goals and personal support as a reduction of government expenditure on collective social provision was assumed. Participants from all age groups in my sample indicated a lack of confidence in obtaining an adequate retirement from any state funded superannuation scheme. Home ownership provided a buffer from economic insecurity and for many in my study additional residential

investment property, particularly in the inner city area, was considered an attractive investment proposition.

Research figures show that generally home ownership has been a good investment in the post-war period particularly from the late 1970's to the early 1980's when it was uniformly good throughout the country. From then on financial gains have varied between and within urban areas (Dupuis, 1992; Dupuis and Thorns, 1995b). Losses as well as gains have occurred. However median sale prices of residential property in the inner city area of Christchurch, compared with those taken for the city as a whole, reveal a strong upward trend over all property types particularly ownership flats and townhouses, in the central area, since 1981. (see figure 5) Many apartments in this study have shown extremely good capital growth, but caution is now being advised by some in the real estate industry as sales slow and an over supply of some units becomes apparent. As with the general property market throughout the country variation within the inner city area and the time of accessing the market are crucial factors affecting profitability. The recent price trends combined with the powerful manipulations of those involved throughout the supply side of the apartment market, and the effects of central government's rhetoric concerning the need for private provision of retirement income and social support, have created a buoyant market. Many private investors, having been financially hurt by the share-market crash of 1987, are looking for a more secure and what is perceived to be a more understandable or controllable, investment channel. The supply of office and commercial property had become over-supplied leaving residential property as the next target area. Vigorous marketing from within the real estate industry has meshed very well with the promotion of the Central Business District (CBD) of Christchurch as a place of entertainment, culture, business, social activity and most importantly as a residential location. The policies of planning zones and supporting infrastructure in the way of services and facilities such as the new Convention Center, the Tramway, Worcester Boulevard, the proposed Art Gallery, and others have created a more lively and attractive environment. However evidence from my participants suggest that the building spree and design process that has become speculator driven is resulting in the proliferation of many developments which are comprised of apartments which fall

short of the expectations of many to provide a good living environment or fit with the surrounding neighbourhood. The loss of many historic buildings is causing a great deal of concern for many as ironically the new developments are seen to be threatening the very character of this area which many in the industry are using as the image by which to promote the area.

For the participants who were parents, irrespective of age, support for children was certainly a priority. This was expressed as a need to provide support, in particular to enable access to education as a means of the child procuring the necessary qualifications to become self sufficient in an increasingly credential- inflated society. This appeared to be a far stronger motivation for the ownership of property than a sense of continuity by passing on a legacy to be remembered by, or from any sense of obligation of support beyond the life time of the parent. As a women with two adult children said to me -

It has been important to own our home. It is important too that we can leave something to the children, something that is ours. It is a nice wooly feeling of family, but it is not important that we leave them material things or money, as they will both do all right for themselves. We have no cash to leave them, and there are people who feel they have failed if they do not leave them money. That is not our idea. We invested all our money by giving them a university education, and on an overseas trip when my husband retired. (Female 60-69)

Another women expressed her feelings this way.

I talk with my friends who need money for operations and things and as I have discussed with my son I would not hesitate to get a reverse annuity mortgage to use up my capital if I needed it. My children all say how silly not to use it. I don't feel a need to leave anything to my children as they all have more than me anyway. (Female 70-79)

For some with younger pre-school and school aged children it was the location of the home that was an important aspect of preparing their children for their future by exposing them to what was perceived to be a far more stimulating and meaningful living environment than the suburbs offered. John Huggins, an architect and resident of the inner city since the mid-eighties along with his young family, was quoted recently in The Press (12-8-97:23).

New Zealand followed the suburban approach, where people sought space and tranquility, but something got lost along the way. Now with the tourist boom, we have discovered the promenade...

His son liked living in the inner city, 'because he felt he owned the big stores.'

When you live in the suburbs you live in a house, but when you live in the central city, you own a whole realm. Civic grandeur, big trees, open spaces, the park, and the river all become part of your daily life.

This is an aspect of inner city living that also has a bearing on everyday life patterns and the importance of routines and identity as latter discussion will show.

As the history of residential patterns in New Zealand shows the connection between home ownership and a sense of security is a normal state of affairs. 'It has become the bedrock of the dominant ideology....' (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996:492). It was not a view supported fully by all residents interviewed for this research however. Those with extensive experience of living overseas in rental accommodation, and others at a time of significant transition in their life, expressed views which suggested this is not necessarily a tradition which will remain unchallenged indefinitely. A sense that ownership was not an absolute necessity to maintain ontological security was given, to varying degrees, by a small number of participants. I have included some examples, as I believe they are indicative of the complex means by which a sense of security is maintained, and the

importance of a cross-cultural comparison to highlight the ideologically driven nature of our ownership fixation.

For one middle-aged couple an intended temporary move into a rental property in the inner city before purchasing had become an extended period of over two years. I asked them if their thoughts on the importance of ownership had changed in that time.

That is a very interesting point. Yes it has but we have been brought up with this concept of owning your own home and it still is a bit uncomfortable for us really. It is a funny feeling of having no roots. We can't seem to shrug it off.

For the woman it was more about quality of life rather than just capital gain. The husband suggested it was for a deep psychological reason as well as an economic reason.

We have a feeling that we really need to own something. What we get the whole time from our friends is when are we going to buy something. They just cannot understand it. This period of having our capital free and not having to do all that physical work around our house has allowed us to go through a real development process. It has been a very mind expanding thing. We needed to go into a holding pattern, to free us up. It is not just a physical thing. It involves quite a mental process as well. (Couple 60-69)

The proceeds from the sale of a family's large high country station had also been retained in a liquid form by another middle-aged couple as they pursued alternative business interests. The purchase of a home had not been the first priority, and a gender difference was noticeable in the reaction to non-ownership of the home.

We were thriving on the change but my husband suddenly thought we had to buy a property as he could see he was going to have to dig me out of the house we were renting as I just loved it there. He wanted our own space. Ownership doesn't worry me at all. I had to rally around, but I was really lucky to find this.

A cross-cultural perspective was given by a woman who has lived in apartments in several overseas cities, including eight years in a fourth floor apartment in a large European city with her husband and two small children. As with the majority of apartments in this country the apartments were not owned but there existed a regulated secure-tenure system, and life-long tenancy was common. Ownership was not necessary for a sense of ontological security to be maintained.

Most of the people live in apartments and they are mostly rental. They have rent control and there is no ambition to live in a house. We just loved it there, and it was so good for the children. They know how to build them [apartments] over there. I now know you don't have to own to have an emotional attachment to your home. That place was very much my home, very much me. You need to feel comfortable for it to be home but you don't have to own it to feel that. In New Zealand we are forced into that, it's a bit of security. You do need to know that if the rent goes up you will be able to stay there though.

Most of my participants did attest to the enduring nature of the connection between home ownership and a sense of security as a normal state of affairs however.

These responses were typical.

You know the thought of renting has never crossed my mind. You are the first person who has ever suggested such a thing. (Female, 60-69)

It was important for me to own, for security. Not having someone saying 'I'm selling, I want you out.' That security is very important to me. (Female, 30-39)

Ownership is important to me. My parents had great saving habits, and it was important to have something of my own. (Male, 40-49).

I would never rent. It is dead money. You look after a place better if it is your own and you care where it is. If I got sick I would not have to worry. It is a security thing. (Female 50-59)

For many of my participants the sense of constancy achieved through home ownership had a lot to do with securing a sound economic future. Houses and apartments were traded frequently to obtain capital gains.

I had separated from my husband late in life but I was still able to do decorating so I moved around to get the capital gain. Before buying here I was very lucky because then in the height of the booming eighties, I had been advised to rent and put my money in the bank. But after nine months I decided I really did want the security of my own place. (Female, 70-79).

I had owned a home when I was married but after we separated I didn't really worry, but when the opportunity arose I did buy a wee place and it was nice to know we did not have to move. I think it was my five-year-old son who, without realising it, knew this was home. It was ours and we were staying.

When I bought another place with my partner we did it up and made money on it. We bought some investment flats and thought we would rent something else ourselves but we found we could also borrow enough to buy this unit for ourselves. If we don't like it we will move and rent it out. (Female, 40-49).

We are paying twice as much as our rent was on our old place, but we would not have moved here without buying. It made economic sense. (Female, 30-39).

We have moved a lot and capital gain has been an important factor. We are quite happy with residential property for our pension. We have no option really. There are tax advantages and we have been lucky with the capital gain here. (Male, 50-59).

The notion of home still being synonymous with the conventional nuclear family was demonstrated by the reaction of some financial institutions as same-sex partners have purchased their inner-city apartments. Ownership for many continues to be pursued in a climate based on intransigent assumptions and prejudices of past generations that still remain within many institutions.

Two women, not in a lesbian relationship but wanting to buy a property jointly, found this.

There was an assumption we were lesbians. Most banks did not see us as two individuals earning good money and able to service a mortgage. One or two banks stated they would not lend money to people who were not in a relationship. They even had a problem with blood types, like a father and son, but it was worse with two women.

A gay man, who had purchased an inner-city apartment in joint ownership with his partner, had not required financial assistance from any lending institution but had followed the recommendation of engaging a lesbian lawyer to conduct the transaction.

They have a network between the lawyer and a bank manager some where. Some lawyers are a bit stuffy and I was more comfortable talking to her about setting up a house and all those issues around joint ownership, wills, and all that stuff. I think it is important to go to a gay or lesbian person because there are so many issues most lawyers would not even think about.

In spite of the constraints experienced because of homophobic attitudes still prevailing within the community the thoughts of a person living in a same-sex relationship concerning the process of making their apartment into a home, were similar to many as the transition to a very different style and size of house was made. The move was associated often with a major transition in life style and or relationships, and this often

reflected a changing perception of what constitutes a family. A changing residential style appeared to be a beneficial contributor for many in this situation.

People often say that gay people are not in a family, but we are. The two of us are a family as far as our sense of home, and we have our extended family. It took a while for it to feel like home. I had a collection of teacups and all sorts of other things and I asked myself do I really want all those things. So we got a bit ruthless and got rid of things. It was a new style but I was a bit worried about chucking things and feeling a bit lost...It became like home as I became familiar with those things I like, and then it gave me time to do the things I like. The person I am sharing with is more important than things. It was just time for me to get rid of old family things.

Attesting to this fact was a wonderful collection of many family portraits and photographs of family groupings covering the entire wall of the stairwell. Most of the remaining furnishings in this very modern and distinctively decorated apartment had been purchased from the previous owners.

The impact of the changing demographic profile of the community was reflected in the comments made concerning the meaning of home for several residents who were now living without their children.

When we split things were not too important to me. It was important my place was done in the colours I like, but it was the location, the style and the convenience which were important to me. My wife hung onto the kids so it was important that the things went with her. For me home is where the next clean pair of underpants is I suppose. (Male 50-59)

My grandchildren and my children visit, but their mother lives in another city. That is where the family home is now. (Male 70-79)

When my divorce is settled and when I am on my own, for me my home will be where I grow my lavender and a few olive trees. As long as I have my paintings, my music, my books and my cat. I could not exist without them. Silly but that is what would mean home to me. (Female 50-59)

For many the process of making the new house into a home did include continuing close associations with family. But for some, particularly women, it related more to a new direction and focus away from family obligations of the past and towards the pursuit of suppressed personal goals and ambitions, or those connected with a new or a long standing partner. The strong link made by feminist urban theorists between urban form and the construction of stereotypical gender types is exemplified by the motivations and realities of many women I have interviewed. The appeal of the style and location of the new home had a great deal to do with a changed attitude to, and expectation of, particularly the role of women in society. As with the other three conditions required for a sense of ontological security to be maintained, the process of making a house into a home encompasses factors wider than the physical entity of the building. Both the built and natural environment in which it is located was extremely important for many.

It is clear that changing gender and generational differences impact significantly upon the manner in which family/home associations are regarded, and this needs to be incorporated into any analysis of the meaning of home. Gender and age related expectations and assumptions will change, and social 'norms', or what in the past has been accepted or regarded as appropriate for different ages and genders, will influence and limit the provision of housing stock and have an impact on the level and direction of demand in the market place. Social change has the propensity to change with greater rapidity than physical forms, and individuals faster than institutions. These factors need to be exposed through social research but that work must be equally aware of biases or inadequacies in its own 'objective' analyses.

The work of Iris Marion Young (1997) is particularly relevant as thought is given here to the motivations for moving, and the realities of the women interviewed for this study. She provides reasons for the need to incorporate into a theoretical framework the perceived and experienced realities of individuals but explained within their social and material context. This will then help expose the ambiguities within feminist theory that need to be addressed. Whilst not demeaning but emphasising the positive, liberating potential aspect of 'homemaking', she highlights the positive way our homes can provide a sense of identity and value, and can be empowering. Being attached to one's home '...does not oppose the personal and the political but describes conditions instead which make it possible (1997:159). What I wish to stress is that the 'attachment' and those 'conditions' will relate to issues encompassed by the wider concept residence, and not just those associated with the common usage of the term home. As the meanings of home and change in residential patterns are analysed this will help us understand the way individuals seek to find a fit between themselves and their residence, how we tend to personalise the difficulty of finding this fit and why we need to question the logic of the market to produce the physical stock from which to choose (see Wright, 1991: 225).

For elderly people stereotypes commonly held tend to limit the perspectives or scope of analysis, as differences amongst, and growth within, the elderly age group will occur the same as with any other age cohort. Findings of this research illustrate how factors of age are compounded by biases of biological determinism related to gender, as women are seeking a more satisfactory fit between themselves and their residence.

The children were quite upset when we moved from the family home. I couldn't care less. I skipped down the drive. It had just been hard work for me.²¹ Now this is just all pleasure and the children love coming here to see us. They are proud of it. My mother is in her nineties and she thought it was terrible. Not a real home here. That generation is funny. They have not moved with the times, have to have

²¹ A feminist perspective describes how for many older women gender stereotypes have prescribed a life '...relegated from communal space to an isolated and devalued role within a privatised nuclear family separated from public spaces by industrial capitalism' (Wekerle, 1980). Even more so than younger women her role is, '...embedded in urban form' (Harman, 1983).

their suburbs, but mother is lonely now. Our generation has worked it out better some how. (Female 70-79)

The description of leaving the family home by another older woman also typified the reaction of many participants, reflecting how the constraints exerted by prevailing sexist and ageist assumptions and expectations can become embedded in urban form.

I really had no qualms about leaving the family home which actually quite worries me. Weird really. Our youngest child was thirty and I think she thought we were going to stay there forever. Others were saying to me, 'oh you poor thing leaving your home.' It made me feel quite callous. You see we had lived in that house for over twenty years, at the stage of life when our five children were teenagers, which was a difficult time for us. You don't have the same feelings for a place then. (Female 60-69)

Another couple had dissimilar experiences as they made the move in to their inner city apartment.

I had wanted to do it but after I signed the contract I became very depressed. For over twenty seven years, putting everything, my emotions and thoughts into that place and suddenly it was going to be ripped away from me. It took a while to get over it but I now think what a wonderful place this is. (Male 70-79)

When my husband (above) spoke of all his memories I said that they are not tied up in bricks and mortar, they are things you take with you when you go. Moving was a very stressful time for us. I had no thoughts at all as I moved out of the family home, it didn't affect me at all. I was so excited about the process of moving. The children had no attachments to the home, and could see the benefits for us. I have loved this place, and this special area, so much from the day I walked in I think one day God will strike a hand on me. It felt like home

straightaway to me. (Female 60-69)

A semi-retired man who has recently moved from a suburban home with his wife and son had a very clear perception of change and how inter-generational differences are shifting.

My parents are in their eighties now and are in the bracket who want their quarter acre section. You have to be a lot older than me to think of your house as being synonymous with family- need to be in your seventies for that. My generation is very different. In ten years time again it will not be an odd ball thing to shift here with their kids. It is the same as your job. I have only ever had one job but you think nothing of changing careers now. Home changing is just the same. (Male 50-59)

A younger couple living with their three young children in an inner city apartment also made some interesting comments regarding generational difference and change. His parents continue to move frequently, including at one time an inner city residence. But he and his siblings always still go back to their parents' place, wherever it happens to be, as it is still regarded as the family home.

When kids get older, go away and then come back, it is easier to come back to a familiar place.

Feeling he had contradicted himself he explained.

The place is them because they make their place in their image if you like. With all their things. They have moved a lot but it is them and they have a much stronger sense of their place being the family home.

His wife explained her parents had remained in one home and she still felt attached to it as the family home.

It's familiar and you know it. Part of me would like that, but I don't think that will happen to me.

Having moved from a grand family homestead in the high country of the South Island a new resident reflected on urban rural difference as she explained how things seem to be changing so quickly now.

Our parents never considered change. Lifestyles never changed and housing certainly didn't change. The only thing that changed in the country were the photographs on the mantelpiece. I did have to sell some beautiful things but you see that was just all Gran's handed down things. Two of our children live internationally now and the other is away. These things are not so important to them. For me it felt like home straight away here. My mother was horrified when we moved and still asks when are we getting a real home. There was a lot of pressure put on us when we bought here because of the expectation we should be looking after her, like in the old days. It is sad but that is how life is nowadays.

For some residents the move into a new house did not require any time at all for their new surroundings to feel like home, although for most it involved a process of rearranging their possessions and becoming familiar with their new surroundings.

We just love it here but I am not sure it feels quite like home yet. We have been here only a few months and have been overseas so we are still getting organised and getting into our routines and getting on with things.

A business woman who, after living and working in an inner city apartment with her husband and teenage son for many years, had recently moved to live in a large wooden home in a hill suburb, but retained the apartment for work. When asked if the traditional suburban home felt more like a home to her she replied.

That is a really difficult question. We are really torn. I have a strong identity with both. It is nice not to be in concrete and then when we come here (to the apartment) it is so nice to be warm, and everything is working, and there is nothing to do. I would not be surprised if we didn't sell them both tomorrow and buy a penthouse right in the center of town, but that would not work for

our teenager at the moment. Especially for my husband it was the capital gain which drove us to buy the new house. (Female 30-39)

For one woman who had moved many times while living overseas, it had been difficult for any place to become a home for her but,

Once we stopped moving cities it was easy. I treasure New Zealand so much. I locate more to the environment. Our things have moved around with us and a lesson I learnt living overseas in apartments was the importance of interiors. With identical exteriors individuals would express themselves much more intensely with their own style in their apartments.

An elderly woman's thoughts on her family's residential changes reflect those of many participants in this study.

In different circumstances of where you are you adapt, and your life does change all the time... as a family we do not have to take our house everywhere with us. We do not cling to those things... it is a matter of spending some time in a place to make it feel like home. After the war people wanted security, a home, a garden and all those things but that may be changing. (Female, 70-79)

From the responses recorded here it is possible to see how the meanings attached to home are shaped by the particular social and historical experiences of groups and individuals and families. However care needs to be taken when claiming that they are generation specific rather than universal (see Dupuis and Thorns, 1996:500). From the youngest to the oldest participant links were drawn between home ownership and a sense of security. The differences in the extent to which this association was drawn did not vary strictly according to any age factor however. Influences born in the Depression and nurtured during the Long Boom and state support for home ownership in the 1950's and 1960's, continue to be felt, predisposing New Zealanders to seek security through the ownership

of their homes. Responses from this group however suggest that it is security from the uncertainties born of the recent restructuring process of economic and social relations, away from the social contract towards greater individualism, which dominates their thinking. The meaning of home certainly seems to be reflecting the society around it.

Family relations have become more fluid, and consumption and production practices have changed as a result of factors associated with processes of globalisation, national policies, and local government's policies and a supporting infrastructure. People's expectations and needs are changing creating a market for the building and real estate industry to exploit or to satisfy depending on one's perspective. Constancy, as well as routine, privacy and control, and identity are being sought in a different location and for different reasons as individuals and groups adjust to and influence the direction and shape of urban forms. How appropriate the new housing stock is proving to be, as a constraining and/or enabling factor, for the new residents of this inner city area will be expanded on as the next condition necessary for a sense of ontological security to be maintained is examined.

6. c: THE INNER CITY APARTMENT AS THE SPATIAL CONTEXT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ROUTINE

As has been asserted a condition of routine, occurring in everyday life patterns, needs to prevail for a sense of ontological security to be maintained, and it is our homes that provide the spatial context in which many of our day to day routines are performed. As earlier research into the meaning of home for older New Zealanders has shown familiar time-space paths, or courses of action, provide routine and familiarity. (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996). This research showed how, of all aspects of familiarity associated with home, it was the familiarity with family and children in particular that was alluded to most commonly in the interviews that were conducted. Although children had left the family home it remained the site associated with family gatherings. Strong evocations of memories and nostalgia continued to be associated with different life stages and with

particular houses.

For new residents in the inner city area of Christchurch, as represented by those interviewed in this study, aspects of familiarity and routine were also alluded to as important components of their living environment and concept of home. Participants in this present study represented a more diverse range of ages than those in the earlier study. They did emphasize aspects of the family / home relationship, but familiarity and routines which were important did not necessarily assume the centrality of family or family continuity as represented by things or a particular setting.

An implication which I have taken from this observation is that the home, taken in its wider definition, has become not so much the 'ends and the means' but more the 'means' by which a sense of ontological security is achieved. Those familiar and routine things no longer maintain an unquestioned value. The basis on which the home had provided for those patterns of routine and familiarity has depended on notions of family and home that have been moulded by dominant discourses concerning what is appropriate behaviour and expectations related to gender and age that are now being seriously challenged. Changing demographic patterns also need to be kept in mind as the relevance of the attitudes of older generations are compared with those younger. Single-person or couple only households continue to increase in frequency. Conditions which may have provided adequately for many to have '...a sense of confidence and trust in the world as it appears to be' (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998) do not necessarily fit the expectations of many individuals today. Society is being remoulded by increasingly assertive discourses that are challenging the notion of implicit roles for men and women, different ages and family forms.

The responses given by all age groups in this sample suggest changes in how the residence is regarded follows a more complex path than one associated with the ongoing stage-of-life processes based on traditional notions of family and home. Family associations, formed by the following of routines over familiar time-space paths, linked particular houses to particular life stages. However the motivations of the majority of

residents making the move to the inner city, ranging from young and old, single, partnered and married people, suggested that traditional urban forms fail to provide a setting suitable for the maintenance of ontological security. Routine and familiarity are now being sought in a different residential form and an association between home and family is not necessarily alluded to as the most important aspect for this condition of ontological security to be met. For many there remain enduring memories of family and home but there are signs that, with changes within intergenerational relationships, this was also changing. Familiarity with family and children is important but routines and familiarity are often associated with past aspects of homes which now failed to provide adequately for the maintenance of conditions for many to feel confident '...in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding social and material environments of action' (Giddens, 1990:92).

A woman in the 60-69 age group, living in a high-rise apartment, spoke of her apartment as feeling very much like an individual home, just with a lot of conveniences. All but one of her six children had left home.

They have their own homes and they are proud of them but they are out and about so much more than we were. They think differently. We have a lot of friends moving out of the suburbs too. Leisure and interests are far less home centered. All that hard work and maintenance. It was so boring, I was just full of it. I was so sick of all the travelling to the airport for the children all the time. We have so many interests in this lovely city and you get to the stage where you want more time. It is really homely, but also easy living. My mother couldn't understand us moving here. She didn't think it was a home as it had no garden. Thought it was more like an old person's home.

A middle-aged woman, living with her husband, exemplified the change in routine for many women. A feature that was commonly referred to was that activities, which had traditionally been centered at home, are increasingly occurring in public spaces.

The difference in housework since moving here is marvelous. It has made a huge difference for me. We are now able to do so much more together. That has something to do with our work but also quite a bit to do with inner city living because everything is so accessible. Our friends all come in here and we go out and do things. Our children go out to breakfast often and we will go along too. The grandchildren just love to do that. My mother would have been mystified. I love my walking in the park. I have a great affinity for it, it is my time out.

An elderly divorced woman, who has lived in her high-rise apartment for ten years, described the advantages of her residence. Increased cultural activities, and the benefits of ease of access to leisure and entertainment facilities, were commonly cited as being very important for the following of routines that had become an integral part of the resident's day-to-day activities.

I was still working when I moved here and was involved in drama, and other voluntary work. I like the cultural activities and I have always walked around the area, to the park, the movies and the art gallery. Now with failing eyesight the crossings with buzzers are very good for me. With all the cafes and bars, if someone comes around, we will go down and have a coffee and after a movie I will go into a café. Everybody does that now, don't they? It is so easy to go into gardens and places which I would just not do if I lived in the suburbs.

The significance of routine and familiarity, found in a changed residential setting, without any relationship with children and within a same-sex partnership, is attested to as being very important for the following participant. The inner city apartment has become the 'crucial locale' as a site of ontological security.

My parents had lived in the family home for thirty years and I still drive past occasionally with mum (aged eighty-six) and lots of memories come back, but I certainly would not want to live in anything like that now. I am a real homebody. I like to go away but I just love to come home. I am really

attached to familiarity and routine.... When I go away I am not lost but just sort of ...well, loose. The location here is just prime, and we go out so much more. It is one of the big pluses and has become a natural part of our life now. You are not drinking and driving now. That is not a silly thing, it is important. We often decide ten minutes before going out to eat out or meet friends and go to a movie or a café. It is not the coffee really but it makes you sit down and talk to your partner rather than just sitting and putting the television on. You don't have to talk but it is a chance to talk without distractions, or just sit and watch people, just to be part of it all.

The husband of a middle-aged couple told me of their changed eating habits.

You know, I thought eating out was only for ponzie people. I don't think my wife would want me to tell you this but I could tell you how many times our oven has been used in the last two years. Our son also hardly eats here at all. He and his mates wander off into town. Before I would never in my life have walked to a shop for anything. We now walk everywhere... and there is so much more casual social contact.

An elderly man, now living on his own in a high-rise apartment, had raised his children in an inner city area of a large American city. His thoughts reflect those of others who also lamented the low proportion of children in the inner city residential population, the tiring of gardening activities, the importance of casual social contact, and the significance of location.

It was a very densely populated area with a very tight community life, my children gained in so many ways. Living in the inner city their lives were entirely different from their friends living in the suburbs. (overseas) When I came back here I was in a larger house in the suburbs but I realised I had been much more satisfied with that apartment life. I was tired of maintaining a garden and I like the compactness of this place. That really is not a trivial thing, having things close.(in

the apartment) *I like having all these facilities so close too. I will walk a lot more and all that impersonal contact on the street is not irrelevant at all. To walk and see all those people is very relevant. I really enjoy sitting here and watching all the people. It is not real social contact but it is life, street life. I hear the music and it is quite wonderful.*

A woman gives another cross-cultural comparison. Her comments also indicate the importance of design and space and the relationship with changing patterns of work and leisure.

Living with our children in the apartment in a European city for eight years

I began to really appreciate the good things that happen to people when they move into the inner city. The whole neighbourhood was their backyard. Here I was worried about the small space and wanting to keep the family 'mai mai warm', but that issue was a bit of a dream. The reality is we both work, the children are overseas and we don't have time for maintenance and gardening. I love gardening but that is another lesson from Europe... gardens are to be sat in as well as worked in. When the children and our many visitors come to stay space is not a problem. People tend to want to be together and without cars we can just walk everywhere

For a young single woman living on her own, her professional career and life style suited an inner city residential location but she still referred to her parent's home as where all her ties were. Her routines were associated with her career and social life and a central city location, but notions of familiarity and associations with family and childhood remained. Clearly location and attachments to a home vary according to stage-of-life processes but these are now more complex because of changing expectations and capabilities associated with changing gender roles, work patterns and the diversity of housing provision. Proximity to centers of social and cultural activities and / or places of work were mentioned by all residents in this study. Many comments also reflected how

patterns associated with such social changes as the drink-drive laws and the accompanying relaxation of the licensing regulations, are also connected to the physical landscape.

Well my apartment is my home now but my community is still where I was brought up. It is a time thing I suppose. I spent twenty-five years there. Schooling and the whole thing. For now I like living in the inner city. I walk a lot and I am only two minutes from work. Also I'm a bit Scottish and I don't want to pay for a taxi if I have been drinking, but I will not always want to be in the pub drinking every Friday night.

Changing intergenerational perceptions of home, routines and familiarity were given by a married woman (60-69).

I loved this place straight away but as things settle in it has become more of a home. Having your furniture and stuff helps make things become familiar. My son is an architect and he had seen the benefits of inner city living, but if you could interview our friends, although they have never been honest enough to say it, they would say yuck, they could not stand it. But I mean the situation of this place is amazing. We used to go for walks but it was a boring thing. You would either walk to the right and come home from the left, or go the left and come home from the right. Here there are so many things to see. We use the library, and the WEA and now the cafes, and there are always people to look at.

Almost without exception gardens and gardening had been a feature of homes which were mentioned by participants in this study. The move to the central city in most cases had been made in spite of an association with some form of gardening activity or attachment to landscape. For most the move had relieved what had become a tedious or onerous burden of garden maintenance without dulling a general love of gardens and

trees, now enjoyed from a public source and potted deck or courtyard areas. Changes in patterns of activities of young and old were alluded to in this regard as the appropriateness of larger sections was questioned.

My garden used to be a full time job, but I can just walk over to the gardens now and I can still pull out my six weeds a day. That is enough. It is so beautiful here with all the different colours in the park. (Female ,50-59).

I am on the sixth floor and I get such a wonderful outlook. The trees are just wonderful and you get such a lovely view of the change of seasons. The sunsets are wonderful. (Female 70-79)

I had wanted a big garden, the country thing I think, but I had to spend so much time on my own. I was stuck at home on my own, and I am not a person who likes to potter and hammer and screw things like some blokes. (Male 30-39)

People have changed. Kids use the civic spaces like QE11, and they don't go out to play. They play in front of their TVs or computers. Back yards are just a pain in the neck. You had to pay kids to water the lawn and then pay them to mow it. I am a businessman and that didn't make sense. (Male 50-59)

We are both working and doing post-graduate study so we wanted to get away from maintenance and accumulating vegetation, so we could play with our three children at the weekends. (Aged 7, 4, and 1) The quarter acre section was hunky-dory when there was nothing better to do in the weekends and when you could get your kids to mow the lawns. I expect our kids would not do that. It is now so irrelevant. The Council mows our lawns, and the streets get swept all the time.

We have lived in an inner city area overseas and we got used to being able to walk everywhere. So much more stuff goes on in the city. The children have much different experiences here. It is only a quick walk to the library once a week and

they will walk off with Nanny down to the shops and do jobs for us all the time. It is so much easier to get the kids to school and pre-school. It is such a relief. The amenities were a big pull to come here. Something happened to the swimming pool though. [The Centennial Pool site is currently being redeveloped](Couple 30-39)

A real estate agent who is active in promoting inner city residential property made an interesting observation that reflected the prevailing attitude of the quarter acre paradise and the means by which it can be perpetuated.

I do not think it is suitable for children. (In the central city area) If I didn't have children I would be in there like a shot. Although I suppose my children are not big on going out to play and when they do it is on the road. When I think about it they do not use the grass area at all so I don't know why I say these things. It is a mental thing really. Families would want the bigger units though and they are too expensive. It is too early to take a family into the cheaper side. It is not a nice environment with the drug addicts and everything, but when the old dungs (houses) go it will change but it will take ten years.

For those in paid work the location of the house was cited as being very significant as people spoke of the very significant advantage of time saved travelling.²²

We now look at the traffic when we have to go out and it would just drive us mad. We are just so spoilt here. (Couple 50-59)

We both work full-time and driving to work before was a nightmare. Everybody is so up tight. It is so therapeutic to walk home, except the smog on your clothing

²² From a selection of Christchurch suburbs (Westmorland, Holmwood, Fendalton, Hawthorndon, Avonhead, Mt Pleasant, Parklands, Papanui, Aorangi, Wainoni (now Anondale), North and South Richmond) the proportion of residents whose place of work was sited in the central city, compared to all other areas of the city, had decreased in the years from 1991 and 1996. In contrast the percentage of inner city residents whose place of work was also in the inner city, the percentage had increased from what was a very substantial 55% to over 62%. (Statistics New Zealand, Census, 1996).

can be bad. (Couple 50-59)

If I was to move I would still need to be in walking distance from work. The idea of driving is mad. (Male 50-59)

Another aspect mentioned by a number of people not in paid work was a substantial increase in the hours spent in voluntary work in the community they were now able to undertake. This was obviously an activity that had great significance for them. Activities included work associated with the museum, art gallery, police kiosk, various churches, cancer support group and drivers, library and other community groups.

The move to inner city apartments involves a significant shift in design, physical configuration, location, and ownership structures of residential form. This new urban setting is becoming popular as more people seek a better fit between their aspirations and needs and their residence. Results of this study indicate that assumptions about what conditions need to prevail for a sense of ontological security to be maintained will need to be particularly sensitive to changes in the manner in which gender and age related assumptions and expectations are being expressed in all forms of consumption and production practice. These matters are related to the manner in which our homes are a social construct. The location and structural forces that shape and maintain the conditions both in the private realm of the home and the public space that surrounds it, need to be fully appreciated. A home comprises not just the physical form, but also the physical and social aspects of its location. As with the three other conditions which need to prevail for a sense of ontological security to be maintained, it is the wider definition of residence which needs to be considered as day-to-day routines are examined.

The boundaries between the private and public spheres of residential space are becoming increasingly diffuse, but they also are contracting in an ambiguous manner that is challenging many long established social and physical patterns of behaviour and urban forms. They impact on a sense of privacy and control as well as identity. This will be expanded on in the following sections, but they also have an impact on the routines and

familiar patterns of day-to-day living. If the trend towards inner city living is considered significant what has been considered as necessary for the maintenance of a sense of ontological security in the form of familiarity and routine, is now emanating from a wider physical context than the single stand alone suburban dwelling, and from a social context not centered so exclusively on the family. This does not diminish the significance of the home as a source of ontological security when understood within context as a residence. Because things are familiar we can no longer assume they are able to maintain a sense of ontological security. In fact the opposite may also be true. Familiarity with a role for both men and women in society that has become inappropriate could well be seen as counter productive to the maintenance of ontological security. For many in the inner city a home and its location is now required to provide a setting which is more conducive to the incorporation of a routine pattern of paid and unpaid work, and leisure and cultural activities, that is more complex and inclusive than that prescribed by the model of family and home dictated and driven by the suburban pattern of planning and developments of the past.

6. d: THE INNER CITY APARTMENT AS A SITE FREE FROM SURVEILLANCE, BRINGING A SENSE OF CONTROL THAT IS MISSING IN OTHER LOCALES

6.d.1: INTRODUCTION

Previous research into the meaning of home for elder New Zealanders established the importance of the home as a site of control and freedom from surveillance (See Dupuis and Thorns, 1996, 1998). A commonly expressed perception was of the home as a place of refuge, free from surveillance where one could behave and express emotions exactly according to one's own wishes. Many respondents attested to a sense of total privacy and autonomy emanating from home ownership. The ability to control the environment in such ways as DIY projects focused on the house and the garden, and the ability to keep

pets, was important. Home ownership gave these elderly New Zealanders a sense of autonomy from the outside world, although autonomy within the home for the majority of widows had been enhanced with the death of their spouses.

For participants in this present study home ownership would appear to continue in part to form an essential protection from economic vulnerability and secure the control of what Charlotte Perkins Gillman defined nearly a century ago in her book, 'The Home' (1903), as a human institution which offers peace, quiet, comfort, health and personal expression. Pahl describes ownership as appealing to a '...set of values concerned with homeliness, cosiness, domesticity and a belief that, if one can control just a small part of this large and threatening world, then one has achieved something worthwhile' (1984:324, in Allan & Crow, 1989:27). The importance of a sense of control for all the above-mentioned reasons would not be challenged by the findings of this study. However what is important to stress is that ownership *per se* will not necessarily provide this control. A particular residential pattern, established as a result of historic circumstances, planning strategies and public policies that reflect an entrenched and gendered separation of public and private, domestic and productive worlds, may not provide a situation or setting in which a 'security of being' (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998) is able to prevail. For many participants in this study what was possible to control in their previous residential settings was limited by a set of ideals concerning appropriate gender roles and work and leisure activities, that is becoming increasingly irrelevant. As they seek a sense of control in their lives they find a move to an inner city apartment has many advantages.

The theme of privacy is strongly linked to the theme of home, but as David Morgan argues (1996:180) privacies, within the home, as well as in the wider community, are processes rather than fixed and final accomplishments. This residential form which is reshaping long established notions of a private living environment in New Zealand is challenging perceived boundaries between the private and public spheres of life. Matters of privacy, control, and autonomy are accentuated by the act of residing in inner city apartments, bringing the changing nature of the interdependent social, physical, and legal aspects of this residential form into sharp focus.

Associated with the physicality of this residential style are the changing patterns of social behaviour resulting from an extension of the boundaries of private control. Control of the building and yard space of a stand-alone home now extends to a sphere of influence that includes neighbouring homes. The grounds and facilities are shared and maintained collectively, all proprietors have a degree of input into the management and appearance of these, and also in formulating rules restricting to an extent the activities that a neighbour can engage in. Consequently accompanying this trend is the significant shift in the nature of individual autonomy within that private sphere of influence. Many decisions concerning what has long been accepted as strictly the private domain of the individual owner now involve agreement and consultation with others, as well as accepting control by neighbours.²³ The legalities of the associated ownership structure when buying an apartment require management decisions and insurance provisions to be arranged collectively. All owners will establish a set of rules concerning permitted activities. These

²³ Historically apartments such as those built in the 1950's and 1960's were owned under a Company Title. Owners did not have title to the property but to a share of a company. Problems were experienced by buyers as banks resisted financing as they did not perceive they had the same security as that associated with a land title. The company structure has also lead in some cases to tightly controlled, intransigent rules of occupancy, which appear now to be increasingly resisted. Cambridge Court, one of this city's first high-rise apartment complex, has recently changed its ownership structure to one of unit titles.

Following the difficulties associated with the company title, in the 1960's the concept of composite titles was created. They were also designed to overcome some of the problems associated with the Local Government Act which prohibited subdivision below 400 or 500 sq.m, depending on what scheme applied. A free hold/ leasehold title was created on the basis that all proprietors owned, on a joint basis, all of the freehold. Commonly called cross lease composite titles, they provided owners with rights of exclusivity through the terms of a lease which created exclusive areas for each resident. (see : 59)

The disadvantage with these titles where they are not strated and therefore they could only cover one dimensional developments. The Unit Titles Act (1972) created a stratum estate which meant the title was two dimensional and did not need to be attached to a piece of land. Once a unit title is incorporated a Body Corporate structure comes into existence automatically. A secretary is required to be appointed, proprietors are required by law to meet and form a committee, and the building's insurance is to be held by the Body Corporate with interests of the individual proprietors noted on the policy. The result is security for all owners as their cover is not dependent on the whim of a neighbour who may not otherwise have made sufficient or appropriate insurance provision for an adjoining property. However there was no provision for banks to have their interest as mortgage holders noted so they commonly insist on additional mortgage redemption insurance. This has created an unusual, and perhaps not well known, situation of double insurance endorsed by the law. The unit proprietor, in the result of a fire for example, would get the mortgage paid off and a replacement building.

When purchasing a unit title a contract will have attached a set of body corporate rules, containing the first and second schedules and amendments as contained in the body corporate rules, often referred to as the third schedule. The owners of units collectively decide what rules they wish to apply concerning conditions of occupancy and the management of the shared spaces. Decisions are taken at regular meetings and they become binding on all occupiers. A body corporate fee is also set to cover costs of the shared facilities, maintenance, lighting, insurance etc.

rules will be particular to each development.²⁴ A committee is elected for the ongoing management and maintenance of the property, and to set the level of body corporate fees. The committee may consist of all the proprietors of a development or a given number decided on, and elected at, the annual general meeting. The committee will fix a quorum necessary for the transaction of business and such things as frequency of meetings will be agreed to. It is normal for matters to be decided on by a simple majority vote with the chairperson, when necessary, having a deciding vote. The committee appoints a secretary who may or may not be a proprietor. This person keeps proper books of accounts and records of meetings and the affairs and transactions of the body corporate. For varying purposes the body corporate has the right to enter any unit to view or maintain any facility which is used in conjunction with other units or common property. A certain level of maintenance is required and no additions, structural changes or colour changes to any exterior surfaces can be made without the approval of the body corporate. Certain activities may be deemed inappropriate by a majority of residents resulting in rules of the body corporate overriding permitted use activities, allowable under council zoning laws. Certain commercial activities may come within this category.

As a safeguard for other residents' rights and enjoyment of their property, rules may extend to such things as forbidding items such as clothing, laundry, towels, bedding or other articles, to be hung within or upon the unit so as to be visible from common property. No article may be attached or displayed from a unit that the body corporate resolves may constitute a distraction from the general appearance of the common property. Musical instruments, sound systems or machines must not be used in such a manner as to disturb, irritate or annoy any occupant in any other unit, or on common property. The use of water within the unit or on common property must not be wasteful,

²⁴ Limitations do apply as to what these rules can cover but certain ambiguities have become apparent, attesting to the complexities of these new social, legal and physical relationships. In some cases developments have been designed, and permission granted by council as part of the planning consent, to set a minimum age limit for proprietors. The difficulty remains of how to incorporate this into the rules of the body corporate and not have it struck down as contrary to the Race Relations Act as being age discriminatory. Also, as the age condition was part of the planning consent, and not just an understanding, a legal opinion suggests that the council would need to attach to the titles a memorial which would result in a caveat being attached to the title so that the conditions of consent would continue to be abided by and could not be changed by the body corporate.

or taps left not fully turned off. Activities that may be considered injurious to the reputation of the building may not be permitted. The keeping of all pets including dogs, cats, birds or others, will usually not be permitted, or only at the discretion of the body corporate and only if they are deemed to not cause a nuisance to other occupiers. No structural alterations or additions are permitted without the permission of the body corporate, and all glass windows and doors on the boundary of any unit must be kept clean.

Stand-alone houses and matters of tenure have been equated with social trends of privacy or freedom from surveillance; privatism or home-centredness; and privatisation or individual private ownership (see Saunders and Williams, 1988). These are therefore useful concepts to apply to this analysis of the inner city apartment as a site where people feel free from the surveillance and which allows for a sense of control that is missing in other locales in the contemporary world.

6. d. 2: PRIVACY, OR FREEDOM FROM SURVEILLANCE.

As Giddens recognised privacy does not necessarily imply solitude. What it does imply is the 'regional isolation ofindividuals.....from the ordinary demands of the monitoring of action and gesture'(Giddens 1984:129). Privacy is a function of what Goffman and others have meant by 'back regions' - where role performance is relaxed, and '...home is a precious back region' (Goffman, 1971, in Saunders and Williams, 1988).

As the brief explanation of the body corporate structure shows the choice of an inner-city apartment as a preferred residency creates an added complexity to an analysis of the meaning of home particularly as the source of a sense of personal control, privacy and autonomy. For many the design of their units had resulted in the physical proximity to neighbours not decreasing a sense of privacy, for some it was enhanced, and for others a change in the nature of privacy which was experienced was noted. Design features such as positioning of windows, balconies and living areas, the siting of the entrances and car

parking and garaging facilities, and most importantly the acoustic qualities of the building were given as important contributors to the degree of privacy enjoyed. Standards between the developments certainly vary.

Privacy remains extremely important but is achieved within tighter boundaries and was linked strongly to a need for a sense of physical security within the living environment. This was a feature stressed by women, but also by a number of male participants, as an integral condition for a sense of ontological security to prevail. The high density urban setting and physical features such as monitored entry or security gates to the complex, and / or physical layout, and proximity to neighbours gave an enhanced sense of personal security for most

Relationships with neighbours were a recurring theme mentioned by participants.

Privacy is a very big thing here. We don't live in each other's pockets, or intrude. We would always ring before calling, but everybody is very friendly. People are there if you need them. In a bush-telegraph sort of way you are aware if someone is sick, and you will take a meal up. It is different to the suburbs where you would spend time talking over the fence perhaps. (Female, 60-69, high-rise unit)

In another complex a similar expectation prevailed.

I feel very private here. It is an unwritten law that you will not knock on people's doors, but you will ring. The nice chap next door has not worked that one out yet, but feeling a lot more private is very important for me. You do not get any door knockers (collectors etc) either. (Female, 70-79, high-rise unit)

The family territory and space is bound within the walls of the apartment with communal relationships conducted, in this example, along a more formalised structure. The residents however still identified strongly with the group but with an obvious consensus concerning the appropriate way for neighbours to behave. These two separate examples

would support those given by Bulmer. 'Encouraged by the obvious dangers of reciprocated annoyance, there is a general norm that neighbours should be friendly yet respect the privacy of each other's household by "keeping their distance" '(Bulmer, 1986, in Allan and Crow, 1989:148).

A single male in his early forties described his experience of a high-rise apartment complex.

People asked how we got on with our neighbours which was strange really because as I said it is just like anywhere else. A lot of people have moved here for extra security, and security was very important to us. With the body corporate and the extra control that came with that, it also gave a sense of community.

A couple explained it this way.

We have a sense of being more private here, In the suburbs if you are in your garden you can't help but talk to your neighbours. Here, and it is not to our detriment, we are more private. I would never have been able to stay in our suburban home on my own (in a possible future situation living as a widow). Here I feel very secure and have no hang-ups at all. (Female, 60-69, single-attached unit)

Her husband explained that their feeling of security had a lot to do with the design of the house.

Here we have only one front door and two little windows. At the back we have modern, locked windows and the front door has a dead lock. Before that we had all those old wooden windows and doors, and trees and shrubs. (Male 70-79)

The windows are tinted and double glazed. We are very snug and very secure here. Living off the ground it is inaccessible and so much warmer. We can leave all our doors and windows open. (Female, married, 60-69)

Security, style, design, and location were the main reasons given by a single woman, in her thirties and living on her own. Two security gates and a voice phone on the front door were important design features for her. Many developments also provided video surveillance at common entries, which could be monitored by all units.

The importance of design and location for a couple was alluded to as they described their moves between several inner city apartments, with varied experiences of privacy and security.

One reason for getting out of our last apartment was, as soon as the casino was finished everything changed. The yahooing was really bad, with vandalism and prowlers. The construction of those units (Tilt slab) was absolute rubbish, all under specified. The thickness of the walls – you literally can hear the people farting in the next unit. (In another complex) we were courted by different groups who were very socially minded but unbeknown to us they were each trying to buy us off. They had their own fixed ideas about how the body corporate should run. It is different when sharing responsibilities of a complex. Here (in a new low-rise complex developed by an owner-occupier) we are so private, we don't know anyone else is around here. It is very secure with a very complicated security system. We just feel so secure here we don't even set the alarm – don't feel a need. We have always had our other 'weekend' home, which has been more like our home to us but that is now changing. We will sell that as home is where we feel secure and cosy. Up there we have had two break-ins and you have more problems there like barking dogs. It is becoming very populated and commercial. Here a prospective buyer wanted to bring a small dog but this was not allowed. We can sit outside here on our balcony, the sun coming in and the wood pigeons in the trees, and count our blessings. (Couple, 50-59)

An elderly man, living in a high-rise development, is not concerned so much with security, but a sense of privacy is very important to him.

I am not a social person and I do like to be on my own most of the time. I am more private here which is important to me, but being on the committee(Body corporate) has been good for me because I have had to make contact, really. The configuration of this building does not lend itself to meeting in hallways for example. You are not so aware of comings and goings.

With the Council rules you cannot build a living room opposite a living room. We have our blinds, and privacy has not bothered us here. Before we lived down a long drive and people would be very nosy and they would know exactly who was coming and going. Here that doesn't happen. (Male, married, 50-59, single-attached unit)

This sense of anonymity was an important consideration for a number of participants.

It is quite a distinct thing to be part of the central city community. Friends in London say the reason they love it there is that they can be completely anonymous and maybe it is the same here. That is really appealing after living in Christchurch (suburbs) – you don't have to like your neighbours. You don't have to take casseroles to them when they are sick. I get on well with my immediate neighbour. He will mow my grass verges and I will tell him when I am going away, but the other units are tenanted and I will keep my distance from them as there are conflicts over parking and noise. (Female, single, living alone. 30-39, single-attached unit)

This tension between owner-occupiers and tenants will be developed in the next section. This example was in contrast to that given by a young couple living with their three small children in an apartment complex designed around a communal garden area, suggesting a link between the design of the complex and attitudes of residents.²⁵

²⁵ In some cases developers are granted permission by council to combine individual courtyard spaces into a communal green space. It is now being considered, by way of a variation in the City Plan, as a means of encouragement to provide better designed usable spaces. By combining areas and having to provide less ground space developers may be able to build a greater number of units and gain a financial benefit.

When we first moved in everybody from round about came in with jam and things. In the suburbs you can not get on with your neighbours - if they are over a six-foot fence it does not really matter. You do need to plan to get on with your neighbours when sharing facilities. When this place was built they did not cut corners, it is not just tilt slab. It has got the thickest bats and double-glazing. Privacy has not been too much of a problem. It is well designed. (Female, married, three children, 30-39, single-attached unit)

An eighty five year old woman who moved into her inner city, one hundred and twenty two year old cottage in 1944, spoke of the important link between the physical nature of housing and social aspects of the neighbourhood.

This area had very skinny sections and I think that is why it was such a friendly area. People were close and they didn't have fences in between. The key thing with families in mind is to have some space for children to play on their own terms. Of course it doesn't have to be private space and that is why we stuck out for a small park in the middle.²⁶ When you have a reduction in private space you need more public space.

A woman in the 50-59 age bracket had moved from a high country station followed by a temporary stay in a suburban rented house. There she had been conscious of her neighbours keeping 'close tabs' on her even though in a 'kindly way'.

Here we are totally free. With the design of these units nobody looks at everyone. I like being secure with people around me. It doesn't make sense really. My neighbour is right there but I never see him. He is there if I need him though. There is no fence between us – perfect. Security here is marvelous. That has been

²⁶ A City Council survey into housing in 1962 had classed the Avon Loop area as having a lot of decayed housing. An urban renewal report had come out and the Carter development group had begun buying up a lot of houses in preparation for the building of a six storey hotel in the area. A community group was formed and continues today to be active in matters of development and planning for the area.

the key for me. Here I don't worry at all. You know I just checked that front door and realised it has been unlocked all last night. I forgot to lock it but it doesn't seem to matter here you see.(single-attached unit)

We do hear our neighbours. They are very noisy people but we like our stereo too. In the suburbs you can't choose your neighbours either but they are further away. But we wanted to live here and although I can hear them, you know it is actually quite comforting. You know there are people there and that is one of the things that I really like. (Female, living with partner and teenage child, 40-49, single attached unit)

The enhancement of a sense of safety within the home was a major factor almost without exception for participants.²⁷

For the majority of participants the move to their present apartment had involved a considerable reduction in living space which, for those sharing that space, has raised the issue of privacy within the home as well.

This study area (an area under a stair well, separating an open-plan kitchen from the combined living-dining area) is shared. It all has to be shared now. That is not really a problem, Actually it is quite nice. When I am cooking it means we are all together. Everybody slots in. That has changed because we used to have a computer room and everybody had a lot of space. I think this is good for us. It makes you more tolerant. If it becomes a problem we will just move but I am quite

²⁷ This repeated perception of safety in the home, and as the next section will confirm, also in the location of the home, confirmed for me Gill Valentine's theory which links a woman's need for an illusion of control over her safety, the mental images of where violence occurs, the complex interaction and cumulative effects of first and second hand information leading to women's collective definitions and avoidance of dangerous environmental contexts. Valentine does not prescribe to an environmental determinism however, as she emphasises good design of public space can create the preconditions for control but they will only be effective under certain social conditions such as stable environments with a high level of social integration. Her focus is on public space but the strength of the analysis is the link made with the importance of design as a potentially positive influence on how a woman may perceive the safety of an environment, and potential assailants may perceive the control of an area and therefore be an effective

happy. We do so much more together. (Female, 40-49, single-attached unit)

This is a smaller space but the housework is about the same. My wife still does all the domestic work but I do a lot of the shopping now. We used to have an office each but we share one now but we don't use it at the same time. (Male, semi-retired, 50-59, single- attached unit) ²⁸

For a professional couple both employed and both undertaking postgraduate study space was a problem.

I really want my own study space. I now use the bedroom and my husband will study at his work. That is his space. I would like to have my own room as it is a bit difficult for me. (Female, 30-39, single attached unit)

Meanings can be ambiguous as the difficulties experienced with the sharing of space can often result in a situation where, as in the words of Virginia Woolf, women can struggle for a room of one's own. My research would support a notion that women, living in a family situation particularly in the smaller space of most apartments, tend to be more ambivalent about privacy at home. Privacy of a location is not the same as privacy in a location.

A lawyer, actively involved in the management of a number of inner city apartment developments and the conveyancing of others, (also a resident in an inner city apartment) stressed that for New Zealanders in a residential situation living in a shared situation and agreeing on anything was still a fairly unusual thing.

Change is occurring because of our sophistication and the fact that we don't want

determinant. It is a theory which can help explain the motivation and advantage of many communal living arrangements, particularly for women in our society.

²⁸ As Jennifer Mason states (Mason, 1989:103 in Allan and Crow, 1989) in her paper 'Reconstructing the Public and the Private: the Home and Marriage in Later Life', life course changes in later life such as retirement and departure of children mean the nature of home and privacy within it, as well as the

to dig our quarter acre paradise. We want convenience, security, and certain aspects of our lives taken care of by people skilled at doing so. The inconvenience of communal living and rules are put up with for that. They are basically common sense. My advice to people buying into a body corporate is they need to sacrifice a little bit of their privacy and give a little to the community because you can't live in isolation in a unit title structure. (Male, 50-59)

Privacy is to have autonomy over admission to space and its contents, (see Young, 1997) and for residents of inner city apartments proximity to neighbours has not necessarily resulted in a loss of privacy. Design details such as sound barriers, plumbing, courtyard or balcony space and the over all configuration of units, entries and window placements, had a direct bearing on residents' perception of privacy within their apartment. Certainly all apartments are not created equal in this respect. The extended control associated with the ownership structure of the body corporate was important to help counter those conditions which result from the higher density neighbourhood. It also gave residents an enhanced sense of privacy because of the possible extension of the sphere of control around the immediate living environ not possible in the suburbs. Personal security, particularly for women is an important component of this condition and, associated with the inner city location, it helps counter the tendency of the private sphere being the place where women have been confined.

6. d. 3: PRIVATISM, OR HOME-CENTREDNESS.

As participants in this study described the motivations and reality of their inner city apartment style living what was obvious was a perception and reality of an enhanced ease of access and participation in wider social and work related activities resulting from their

boundaries between home and the public world are undergoing transformation and are likely to be under re negotiation. The ideal will not be gender-neutral

residential arrangements. This is a reversal of the implied trends of privatism or home-centredness and withdrawal from collective life that has been associated with home ownership. Graham Allan (Ch.9, *Insiders and Outsiders: Boundaries Around the Home.*' in Allan and Crow, 1989) refers to research by Allan and Crow 1989, and Davidoff and Hall 1987, which shows the concern for drawing a wall of privacy in middle-class homes emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century as walls marked the boundaries between public and private spaces. They described neighbourhoods now as being far more amorphous with people not knowing those living nearby or having any real interest in getting to know them. Rather than unfriendliness this is explained by people not in any real sense being dependent on those living close by and therefore sharing a locality does not equate to a need to be embedded in a set of local relations.

If the trend towards shared ownership structures, and the sharing of space and management of the home environment, is considered significant these assumptions of increasing privatism need to be reconsidered. When residents are sharing a residential site there is a significantly greater degree of dependence and interrelationships with neighbours. Allan describes the home as comprising both a physical setting and a matrix of social relationships, each defining and giving meaning to one another, and therefore apartment living marks a considerable shift from the accepted view of both the physical setting and matrix of social relationships. Privatism and withdrawal from collective life has diminished for most when their new living arrangements have been entered into. Privatism, or home-centredness and an associated withdrawal from collective life would seem to have been replaced with the home becoming secondary to employment, leisure, kinship and neighbourhood. The important point to make is these matters are dependent on the nature of residency. The home remains a 'crucial locale', but as a means of achieving a 'security of being'. What needs to be considered is the extent to which the physical setting of our stand-alone houses is responsible for the trend towards privatism that is attributed to home ownership.

For a number of participants their homes were also their work place, or they worked very close by. The idea of spending time driving and coping with the associated frustrations of

parking and time delays was an anathema to all participants whether they were involved in work or pleasure activities. Rather than the home being the center where 'life' is experienced it has become the center from where 'life' can be sought.

Before on my days off there was always something I had to do at home. Now I just do what ever I like. I will go and visit, I might go back to work, I might have lunch with someone, I might walk into town. There are always a lot of people on their verandas and you will walk past and they talk to you. In Linwood you would not get that same sort of contact because the houses are closer to the street here and it is sort of rude to be walking past somebody's house and not say hi or good morning or something. We now go to all those Summer Times shows and things. Before we would not have bothered to do that. (Female, 40-49, single-attached unit)

It is the facilities I like to be near. To walk along the street and see all those people is very relevant. That impersonal contact is not irrelevant at all. The flea-market , the street life, it is just wonderful. I don't have the distractions of the garden and things - I have become more involved. I have been able to forgo two car trips every week to the library, and Christchurch is a lot more cosmopolitan than before. I really like that – don't get that in the suburbs. (Male, 70-79, high-rise unit)

The comments of a self employed married women in her fifties reflected the significance of a geographic shift between a rural and an urban setting, and the significance between gendered roles within the household described as immanence and transcendence.²⁹

²⁹ In Simone de Beauvoir's scheme women's situation is described as confined to immanence, whereas man exists as transcendence. Transcendence is the expression of individual subjectivity, taking on projects, looking forward and creative. Immanence consists of maintaining life, without potential of expressing individuality. For Beauvoir man's subjectivity draws on the material support of women's work, and this deprives her of subjectivity of her own (Young, 1997:148).

This negative explanation ignores the positive experience many women have caring for house and family, and for Young all domestic work cannot be reduced to immanence. She distinguishes between housework and homemaking. A home is personal in a visible, spatial sense, it displays the things among which that person lives, that supports their life activities and reflect in matter the events and values of her life. Comfort

Social contact and activity outside the home, as well as privacy within it, was clearly empowering for her, but especially so when she had a greater sense of control and individuality within both settings. This was a factor insinuated by many participants and evidence of contradictory attitudes regarding the desirability of social contact between immediate neighbours can be seen as a case of individuals now feeling more able to control the direction and nature of that interaction. They felt their living environment had created the opportunity for them to make their own choices.

We had moved into the Grandparents' old homestead. That was my full time project for twenty years, to bring this beautiful old house and gardens back to life. I loved doing all that. But in my isolation all those years I had dreamed of living in walking distance from the Court Theatre, the Arts Centre, the golf course, theatres and library - I think Vicky (the mayor) is spending \$7 million on my swimming pool - it is so easy. We do these things with so much more people now. Even having the Cathedral down the road. - you see in the country for all those years our family always looked after the church. You always had to go because you might be the only ones that would be there - but going down to the Cathedral now is a beautiful warm feeling and nobody even knows me or knows who I am - a great thing. I dress here like I never would have done in the country. I would never have been seen outside my gate in a pair of track pants in the I can just bomb down to the shops now - it is such a change. Our parents would never have considered change, but people are considering change younger and younger now. We have learnt so many new skills here (In a new business). I could stay here forever but you need to keep growing and moving on.

A semi-retired couple spoke of the advantages of their new residence.

but also identity is at stake. The activities of homemaking thus give material support to the identity of those whose home it is. This identity is never fixed but fluid, always in process. As women actively engage in what Young described as preservation activities, endowing things with meaning over time, they are

A main priority for us was to get rid of any back yard or maintenance. I now put much more time , 10 – 15 hours a week on church administration. We have a lot more time for relaxation. Our leisure time is for our voluntary work or for going away on holiday. My wife is a career volunteer and she is able to do a lot more of that work now. She will walk to her work with archives, the museum, art gallery, library, genealogy things, and community work, which is all in this area. I walk every where now. I have never in my life walked to a shop for anything before.³⁰ You get a lot more casual social contact now. We eat out so much more here.
(Male, 50-59, single-attached unit)

A recently divorced woman, with one child still at home, spoke of the loss of her garden and family home. (single-attached unit)

But I do love the convenience of being able to go away and just ask someone to water my pots occasionally and that is that. I walk around all the time at night. I often walk down to Bon Bollis for breakfast, to the Arts Center, Ballys, my lawyer, and I go to the theater a lot more.

A middle aged couple had surprised themselves with the way they had taken to inner city apartment living having moved from a provincial city seven years earlier and promising friends they would be back in three years after a work contract was completed.

The proliferation of cafes and bars is amazing. We do like talking to the tourists and that is another good thing we can take our small dog to the outside cafes. People will come over and talk to the dog and we will get into a conversation. Our friends come in and we go out for meals all the time. I just treat the city as an extension of my own back yard now. I will take the dog for a walk at night or during the day and be gone for hours. You meet so many different people, I talk to

celebrating and affirming what has brought them there, rather than reverting to a nostalgic longing for the past (Young, 1997, 149-151).

all sorts of types. Goodness knows whom some of them are, but it is nice just to talk. (single-attached unit)

We eat out a lot more of course and we have a lot more leisure time. You don't spend leisure time at home in the central city because here there is nothing to look at. My husband will go sailing and I will walk around the art galleries. (Female, married, self-employed, mother, 30-39, single attached unit)

Care was taken to avoid certain areas at night and reports of crime in the media rather than personal experiences had made some women far more conscious of safety issues on the streets.³¹ Mainly the older age group mentioned they would not go out at night on their own but that would be the same where ever they lived. However better street lighting in the city was mentioned and the following comments typified many residents' attitudes.

As soon as you talk to people about the city they perceive there is a crime and safety issue. They think it's going to be dangerous and ask how can I walk around at night. They don't understand that with more people around the safer that it is going to be. I walk around all the time, that is the point of being in the inner city. (Female, 40-49)³²

Particularly for older people the issue of high rise apartments and loss of social contact

³⁰ When this couple moved in 1995 they had two cars and between them traveled 41,000 kms annually. Now they have one car and in nearly a year had just turned over 10,000 kms., and had used a taxi only half a dozen times.

³¹ Overseas studies show (Smith, 1987), fear of violence restricts freedom to public space. Over 50% of New Zealand women, compared to 12% of men, are afraid to walk alone in their own neighbourhoods at night (Department of Statistics, 1984, in Pawson, 1987:125).

³² See 'A Pattern Language', Alexander et al 1977, Ch. 31 The Promenade. Throughout history there have been places in the city where people who shared a set of values could get in touch with one another. People get together to confirm their community. The promenade is a place where you can go to see people, and to be seen (:169). Experiments by Luis Racionero at the Department of Architecture at the University of California, Berkely, have shown that wherever the possibility of this public contact does exist, people will seek it, as long as it is close enough. People beyond a twenty minutes distance were shown to consider the distance outweighed the advantages. It is also shown that a successful promenade must have a high density of pedestrians. Pedestrian density also decreases dramatically crime rates (:181).

was raised. A desirable maximum height is often given as four stories to maintain ground and street life contact (See Alexander *et al*, 1977). However an elderly man, living on his own in an eighth floor apartment, still enjoyed the casual social contact he experienced on the street as he visited the library, shopped and was able to become more involved in volunteer work since his move. He had lived for many years in a high rise apartment overseas and after returning to New Zealand and living in a suburban house realised he had been a lot more satisfied with apartment style living. He did express a fear that if he should die it was possible nobody would know for a week or so, but he also thought that would be the case if he was still living in the suburbs. He explained that on his floor the other occupiers were not owners but on other floors it would be different. They would have a network but he had chosen not to become involved with that. This tension between owner-occupiers and tenants was a recurring theme for most participants.

The building had many problems, with public petitions and the council put a hold on it. (when under construction). Many units became owned by sub-contractors who were owed money by the developer. It was a pity it went that way really because the problem with this building is that half the tenants are not owners and any problems, or the majority of them, are caused by tenants.

The height here is very important to me. I would not have moved here without a view. Shows and movies were definitely a consideration for me when moving here but I don't do those things as much as I thought I would. I am a bit disappointed in my self really but I am happy doing what I am doing and have not felt the need.

Over the last ten years the pattern of residents moving into a central city retirement and rest home complex, which includes a high rise apartment block, has shown a rise in the average age of admission. It is now eighty-nine. It was explained to me that many residents there now have been able to delay their moving as they had taken the option of the more manageable inner city apartments which had replaced the loneliness, and lack of security of their older family homes. Before they would have made the move at a younger age for the life style, the park, golf, Arts Centre and to use the city more. The apartments and cottages in the complex are equally as popular with residents when they move into

the complex but there was a noticeable tendency for residents of the higher floors to lose contact after a time.

*It takes a while to realise this happens. They get in here and they can't be bothered going down stairs, or going out. They can see all that is going on but they lose contact. This does happen.*³³

Some will regard 'bounded' enclosures of various living arrangements as epitomising social exclusivity, or '...mere enclaves existing in privileged space', as Gottdiener (1985:285) would describe them. However the example of my participants would support Saunders and Williams' point of the cultural significance of possession via ownership, '...which is not as some see it, elements of a petty bourgeois ideology which represents a deviation from collectivism....People will not participate in collective life unless they feel secure in the private sphere of their home' (1988:87). The danger of a Wirthian disregard for others and a retreat from any recognition of citizen obligations from increased privatism, which they note, is not supported by the results of this study. Peter Saunders'(1989) survey supported the assumption that home ownership did not encourage privatism but encouraged participation in organised collective life, '....reducing feelings of alienation, powerlessness and fatalism in modern societies, representing a response to what Giddens (1984) refers to as the problem of 'ontological insecurity' in contemporary societies'(Saunders, 1989: 184).

My contention is that it is not just ownership *per se* which has done this, but, for participants in this study, it is the style and location of the residence and the nature of the ownership structure, which have been part of the process.

³³ D.M.Fanning ("Families in Flats," British Medical Journal, Nov. 18, 1967 pp.382-86) showed how the higher people were off the ground plus the longer they spent in their apartments the more inclined they were to illness. Support for the results of being away from the ground, away from casual, everyday society of sidewalks and streets, alone, is supported by Dr D Cappon's clinical experiences reported in "Mental Health and the High Rise", Canadian Public Health Association, April 1971: P116. who talks of passivity, socially deprived young people and immobility among older people. Four stories is given as maximum height without losing ground and people contact (See 'A Pattern Language', Alexander et al 1977:116).

6. d. 4: PRIVATISATION, OR INDIVIDUAL PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

It is argued that the restructuring of economic and social relations in New Zealand, away from the social contract and collectivity experienced by older generations, is having an influence on younger generations forcing a greater individualism and the possibility that concerns of security, family and continuity are less likely to be associated with meanings of 'home' (Dupuis and Thorns, 1995:32). Saunders and Williams refer to the shift from collectivity to the individual as a major factor in the restructuring of patterns of social relations and lines of social cleavage in the contemporary period (1987:90).

However it could also be argued that concerns of security, family and continuity remain closely associated with meanings of home but it is the nature, and the expected role, of a residence that is changing, not an association with 'home' *per se*.

If the trend towards shared ownership structures and changing residential styles continues there is a certain irony that needs examining. The former regime of a social contract, and policies of greater collectivity, resulted in a residential style and ownership structure represented by a physical ideal of the detached house, and a legal ideal of private ownership, '...both of which emphasise household autonomy, and both of which represent a stout defiance of collectivism' (Saunders & Williams, 1988:88).

It is argued the present shift from collectivity to the individual is having an influence on younger generations, but the evidence of a trend towards not only unit titles but also the cross-lease titles associated with the large numbers of townhouses throughout the city, would suggest a response which is moving towards greater collectivity within the private residential market. Changes in the form of private ownership of the home in the present economic and social climate is leading to wider contractual arrangements of a communal nature, albeit based on a privatised model. The forcing of greater individualism and the possibility that concerns of security, family and continuity being less likely to be associated with meanings of 'home' (Dupuis and Thorns, 1995:32), may not necessarily be able to be assumed.

A study of the political construction of collective residence in Sweden by Jim Kemeny

(1992), provides an interesting example of dominant ideologies resulting in conflicting social tendencies. Sweden's collective policies have meant it has historically followed a very different public policy and housing provision route to New Zealand. However this analysis provides a clear example of the influence of entrenched myths and the key dimension of residency and public policy.³⁴

My findings suggest that attachments to the value of a 'home of one's own' need not necessarily be associated with wider patterns of privatisation, as has also been asserted in earlier research (Saunders, 1990:180). As Somerville (1989) has stressed if we are to grasp the significance of the dichotomy between 'public' and 'private' we need to take account of the fact that the domain of the 'private' is not constituted only by the home, but also by contractual arrangements. Privatism may see the private as more worthwhile than the public sphere but this does not necessarily mean a withdrawal from collective life but the privatisation of the collective life as much as possible (:117). He describes this as the political and ideological transformation of the collective activity by means of extending the privacy of property as well as the home.

³⁴ Kemeny (1992) argues that residence comprises a key arena in which hegemony is established, owing to its impact on social structure through its salience and its embeddedness in broader social issues (:127). Hegemony is effectively converted into political dominance in issues of residency by entrenching myths, which are consonant with the dominant ideology, into the negotiated orders of public policy within the relevant political arenas. Kemeny uses his case study of Swedish residence policy to show how myths have created residence policy and contributed to the development of a 'deep collectivism'. Sweden's social democratic dominance resulted from an alliance of many disparate groups, including capital, beyond narrow class interests. Unlike labour movements of Britain, it was a truly national movement and was based on the attainment of hegemony (:130). The Swedish welfare state became known as 'the People's Home' rejecting a narrow view of the welfare state in class terms and using the myth of the family idyll and the ideal of the home on how a moral and proper society should function. A picture of the ideal home was transposed on to the whole society. The dominant political discourse of the 1930's established social planning as the basis of the welfare state. Society was something that was to be planned, constructed and ordered. Swedish urban form developed with a predominance of high density flats, a tenure neutral housing policy, highly developed transport system and high levels of female wage-labour. The combination of strong centralised power, well developed local government, with efficient planning, provided the basis from which hegemony could be converted into political dominance (:135). With the Swedish case it is possible to trace the social construction of hegemony, and the manner in which it took expression in public policy as a means of reinforcing hegemony in terms of the legal framework of planning and building and to implement ideological goals which had nothing to do with the logic of capital. These policies succeeded in creating social structures that support collectivism in life styles and transport and encouraged female wage-labour, but, it is argued, they were counter-productive to deep collectivism by making grass-roots co-operation unnecessary. Collective facilities have been a feature of Swedish urban areas, leading to a high level of female wage-labour, but not the expected fostering of solidarity and democratic participation (:141).

The picket fences, which have dissected New Zealand's suburbia into a fine mesh of individual private worlds, have represented figurative boundaries between gendered public and private worlds, consumption and production practices, and concepts of collectivism and individualism. The distinction between these worlds, and associated dichotomies, remains problematic with no clear continuum from one extreme to the other able to be presumed. Although the distinction is ambiguous the nature of the legal ownership framework, the shared management structures, and the shared facilities and spaces of inner city apartments reflect a substantial shift of these boundaries within a New Zealand context. The advent of this residential pattern therefore provides an opportunity to examine the '...interface between the home and the wider setting... a crucial boundary in social life' (Saunders and Williams, 1988). As Saunders and Williams's (1988:83-84) study, 'The Constitution of the Home', showed the interface between the home and the wider setting is marked out physically, by rules, by rituals, by legal statutes and norms. The outside of the house is used to represent both a barrier and a signifier. The representation provided by the apartment is significantly different to the suburban stand-alone house. My contention is that an examination of the move to inner-city apartments can provide an opportunity to view a significant shift of this 'crucial boundary'. A better understanding of how and why these responses are occurring will have implications for our interpretations and understanding of the meaning of 'home', and the manner in which people are constrained or empowered by the conditions of their day-to-day lives.

Recent changes in the private residential market suggest the assumptions of the physical ideal of a detached house and the legal ideal of private ownership need to be questioned. As has been stated both '...emphasise household autonomy, and both of which represent a stout defiance of collectivism' (Saunders & Williams, 1988:88). The detached house, with its well-defined boundary, remains dominant but it is being challenged as the optimal residential style in New Zealand, and although the owner/occupier status remains firmly entrenched as the most desirable tenure, the question needs to be asked whether this equates to a 'defiance of collectivism'.

The body corporate ownership structure and the physical nature of inner city apartments are inherently bound, and together are central to the challenge to both entrenched notions. A personal sense of control, privacy, autonomy, and safety are necessary for a sense of ontological security to be maintained and they are affected by the physical, social, and legal arrangements of this residential style. It is this shift in the nature of privatisation of home ownership that therefore epitomises the complexities, contradictions and contentiousness represented by the move to inner city apartments and the experiences of new residents. It is a shift that is proving to be constraining but also empowering for residents. This tension reflects the legacy and prevailing notions of individuality and autonomy within the private living environment and the counter forces of individuals engaging in strategies which they now consider as more appropriate and are pursued for their own individual life styles. These involve greater, not less, participation and proximity with neighbours, the community and communal facilities.

What is also becoming apparent, as some of the responses have already indicated, is the nature of the supply side of this new housing stock which is having a significant effect on the problems encountered by owners of inner city apartments. Owners of apartments, compared to owners of stand alone houses, often face problems associated with large scale developments such as the physical structure of a building often with very different requirements associated with shared walls, and specifications regarding construction techniques. As the section covering the context of the changes within the inner city explains, these issues are related to local body planning requirements and national legislation covering resource management and building codes, the investment and building industry and the manipulations of a powerful real estate industry.

Many of the complexes which this study has covered are experiencing ongoing legal and physical problems which appear to typify this relatively recently developed and volatile section of the building industry. These problems are compounded by the requirement to deal with them by committee.

We have sub-committees to handle specific issues such as legal matters and maintenance things. The design was not good you see, and the problem is that you need professional advice and you have to get agreement on whom to hire, and then have to agree on the amount of money to spend.

Also a guy who was experiencing noise problems got hold of the original plans and discovered that structurally the floors are a little thinner than they are supposed to be. We do have rules that say that all floors have to be carpeted but there is one with tiles, which is a problem.

Another owner had a real problem with an elbow in a sewerage pipe that produced a huge crash. Nothing much could be done but it was insulated a bit. If you are on the committee it is a bit of a worry. You feel responsible to get some form of agreement and these informal meetings have a definite tendency to leave things undecided. The committee can do very little about noise problems really. Tenants are usually the problem. (high-rise unit)

As a person with experience in the management of body corporate structures in Christchurch stated.

The body corporate rules govern the relationship between neighbours. As far as control, being able to do something about a difficult situation, the reality is far from the truth. You need good will by all parties. There is an arbitration procedure but nothing really formal exists. They can take things to the courts but as far as relationships between residents go common sense tends to prevail and if things are found to be unfair or not working or irrelevant it will be stuck down at the next meeting. People tend to live through these things and the ones who can't get out.

Many participants mentioned legal problems.

We have an ongoing legal problem here over the ownership of the caretaker's unit. The developer (who was placed in receivership) promised that it would

become the property of the body corporate but that was never done. These legal problems get very expensive. We have a special levy for legal matters.³⁵

Associated with the same complex another (past) resident explained the situation this way.

We just loved it there but there were a few problems with the developer who went bankrupt. The plan for the caretaker's apartment was for it to be owned by the body corporate. This was on the brochures and things, but the developer did not sign it over and he denied that was the plan. In his bankruptcy proceedings it was never declared that he owned it either. The legal process started and the lawyers had a wonderful time at our expense and it is still ongoing.

A person with a professional interest in this and other complexes explained it this way.

The problem was with the way the unit plan was originally planned. It is never plain sailing but as we become more knowledgeable and sophisticated about how they run it will evolve. The professionals need to be a bit more sophisticated about these things. We have to accept this structure (unit titles) because of the way construction is going up, rather than being flat, and the only title you can put on that situation, which will be acceptable to the mortgagee and the market, is the unit title. Nobody will accept the company title anymore and the composite titles do not measure up. So we have a choice of one, but it does depend on good management. Where the secretary is not a resident you will not get a clique of one or two controlling matters. Really it is good design which will equate to good body corporates - good provision for car parking and windows not overlooking one another.

³⁵ This situation has resulted in what was explained as a rare occurrence of the body corporate claiming fraud on the title.

However appointing a secretary who is not also an owner does not seem to have solved all problems. A resident of another complex explained.

We have now appointed an outside manager. But he is a very weak person and I think it has got worse. If he doesn't do what they [body corporate committee] want they just threaten him. It is a very invidious position. Some of the good people should get on the committee, but it is time consuming and you know you just don't want to be part of the hassle. When this complex was developed the original developer went broke and we bought from a company who had purchased the property on the future development title. We had come from a body corporate situation with no problems and when we came here we were told we could do this and that but suddenly all hell broke loose. They would not speak to you direct but only through their lawyers. We have all sorts of problems and it has gone on for years. We are still waiting to get money out of the builder and the architect. Half the people have left. This situation does seem to bring to the surface all those types who have never had much power in their lives or whose power goes to their heads. But some (body corporates) do work very well, it just makes you weary.

Problems of a similar nature continue to effect the lives of residents at yet another complex. A resident explained it this way.

For me personally there are no disadvantages here except for the secretary. We did start with an outside manager but this resident made it too difficult for him. The secretary has all these lists (body corporate rules) distributed everywhere all the time. We get letters twice a week. I will not allow --- to spoil what I have here though. It was suggested that some could have cats but we now have a book of rules and I said no way was this going to happen. Most of the rules are just common sense really. It is important to be able to control things, and moving here has allowed me to do so many more things.

New Zealand is obviously not alone in experiencing difficulties as a couple, who are now residents in an inner city apartment, had first experienced this form of living when staying with a friend in Sweden.

It seemed idyllic to us and that whole experience crystallized our thoughts.

He was the chairman of the body corporate and he told us all about the running of such things, and they were having problems. It is exactly the same here - so we were warned.

Another resident reflected on the body corporate structure of two developments he had been involved with that supported my findings that indicate management problems are relative to how well complexes are designed. Having spoken with occupiers of different units in the same complexes it is also clear that what constitutes a problem will always be subjective. However there was a tendency for problems to be relative to the number of units, particularly if the proportion of tenanted units to owner-occupier units is high. Several participants commented on the fact that, associated with the different attitude of owners and renters was the problem of accommodating noticeable cultural differences within the living environment.

It was a problem of getting twenty-eight people to come to a consensus on things. We had a neighbour who was a tenant who had very late, loud parties, but he moved, and there was a problem with an Asian family who were tenants. It was cooking smells or something. One of the reasons we moved to there was the shared insurance and maintenance. The shared responsibility was something I really liked the sound of. We moved from there because of the legal problems and because a lot of the units were being snapped up by investors and I think that is when standards drop and we could see long term it was going to deteriorate.

(In a ground floor apartment of a much smaller complex) The body corporate here works very well. We meet only once a year I think and there are just a few things like the insurance and painting the building.

From the same complex as above another resident expanded a little on the need for the body corporate. These comments also provide an example of my earlier point that the nature of producing mass housing in contrast to stand alone houses can result in a loss of control of the design and construction process for individual purchases. Two of the complexes encompassed by this study were developed by people who also intended to be owner occupiers with noticeable allowances made for design features compromised in other developments. An owner/ developer explained

We could have got more on this site but I would not have it because I wanted to live here. I wanted good parking too you see. Now with so many units squeezed on the new developments the whole thing is ruined. The developers drive it.

We have very few problems here. Just maintenance and lighting and a few things. It was suggested we were not allowed cats but I said I would not be moving in if that were the case. Someone wanted a dog but I said no way. I have complained about some gardens not being done. We had these tenants next door and they would dry their fish outside and all the blow flies and smells was terrible. The owners lived in Auckland and could not care less. It took a year to get them out.

The situation of the final owner-occupier being remote from the design, construction and finishing processes of apartment complexes is accentuated by the nature of the development process. For a complex to begin construction a certain level of pre-start sales will normally be required to attract the necessary finance. The majority of these sales will be made to investors or speculators, whose main concerns will be with price and returns. Design details and practicalities will not be priorities. As a senior architect and respected planner stated to me.

The fact that they are lived in is incidental. The resident is a by-product. You are right, there is a lot of style but not much design, and there is a big difference. A real estate agent said to me one day, 'I hope the people don't look at the plans because they won't work'.

A resident who had owned, and lived in, several different inner city apartments spoke of his experience of varying design features. For him one of the major aspects of inner city living was the need for good parking. The location and the parking available in his previous apartment were given as the major reasons for buying there but after a number of years they had

..got cold feet about the structure. They had taken short cuts when building. We did complain about this at the time but they didn't seal before painting and the whole job has to be redone and the outside tiles keep falling off.

When we bought this unit (low-rise, small complex) we had looked everywhere and were getting a bit desperate really. We had strict criteria but quite normal requirements really. The owner of the penthouse here designed these units. He was very fussy and they have been built, and finished, beautifully.

Most participants alluded to the need for adequate parking. Problems outweighed adequate provision and this creates ongoing disputes for many residents.

We do have car-parking problems here, this guy down the end really grumbles, but I think well for goodness sake as long as you can get in and out what is the problem. He has threatened to have the cars towed you see. But I told him the way the law works is that the person who requests to have the cars towed is liable to pay for the towing bill. I said just try it.

In another complex again the result of proximity, shared management and spaces, and tenure and culture, was highlighted.

We have Asian neighbours and they seem to have different habits to us. They will throw their washing on the ground, over balconies, and over bikes. They leave all their cooking things, woks, oil and things outside all the time and they will put their rubbish out five days early. I wrote them a letter and got a rude letter back,

but our secretary is good, he will diplomatically tell them what is what.

In a smaller complex a middle-aged couple had a similar experience.

The body corporate works well here but at our last meeting we were the only ones to turn up. It is only concerned with common sense things really but we did have tenants who were putting their clothing all over the place and they would put their rubbish there and food would be rotting on the ground. They would drop their cigarettes down, and I know they were not being deliberately dirty, and it is a cultural thing but sometimes there are unacceptable habits. I now feel very much more comfortable about telling people what they are not able to do now.

I sought a legal opinion regarding these matters.

The problem occurs with tenants in the body corporate situation. The secretary in this situation is responsible to the proprietors not the tenants. He/she is not the agent to resolve tenant/proprietor disputes. That is the function of the property manager or real estate agency. Tenants have been put in there by an ignorant real estate agent who is only interested in a commission and their property management portfolio. If they were to actually spell out the rules we would not have the problem. My solution is to attach the rules to the tenancy agreement but that is just not done. Things become difficult with absentee owners. Once tenants understand that they are in a situation of having three landlords, the collective proprietors who have a vested interest in seeing the building work, the body corporate secretary and their individual landlord, it will work.

The distinction between owners and renters was a major theme for almost all participants, however it was apparent that many problems that are being encountered were associated with inadequate provision having been made for visual and audible privacy and also

inadequate parking facilities. Increased density did not necessarily create problems as with adequate design and building specifications many problems were alleviated, although matters of tenure did have a direct and significant bearing on the degree of control within complexes.

A person experienced and active in the legal and planning profession gave an interesting opinion.

I choose to live in the inner city. I agree with the philosophy of denser living here and at the moment it suits my lifestyle. I do like it, but it did worry me buying into a group like this. I have grown up in a council (Christchurch) where unit titles are a complete and utter no-no. Avoid it like the plague has always been the personal advice to me from there. But needs must. It is a nightmare but every time I moan I hear [city planner] say, --- don't buy a unit title, it will be nothing but trouble.

(emphasis added)

This contrast between private opinion and public policy provides an interesting reflection on a council who has actively encouraged denser living patterns.³⁶ If staff can hold such a very poor opinion of the realities of such a living arrangement it may raise doubts about the ability of the bureaucracy to make adequate provision for a residential pattern that is sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the population. Motives behind urban containment perhaps need to be sought in areas other than that of seeking the best interests of residents.

Extremes of constraint and empowerment from this changing form of privatisation of the private residential site come from an inner city complex that has attracted considerable media attention.³⁷ Like so many other developments the construction and development of

³⁶ As one example Ken Gimblett, a City Council policy planner, stated in an article titled, 'Inner City Living, a question of Balance' in 'Canterbury Today', April, 1996:2, that of the 1800 dwellings completed last year in Christchurch two thirds are now townhouses or apartments, and that it has been councils policy to encourage inner city living.

³⁷ An article by Cate Brett, 'Architect Encounters', in North and South, February 1997:82-91 raises some urgent questions about architectural accountability and the efficacy of the profession's disciplinary powers

this complex has resulted in bankruptcies, legal battles and unfulfilled promises made to purchasers that have to then be dealt with by all proprietors in a cooperating, collective effort. As one couple stated:

We bought off the plans but things were not quite as we thought. It became very difficult. They (the developers) have not completed their legal obligations under their Resource Consent application. The vestry (developer) is very poorly organised, amateurs playing at property development. The units were under priced really for the quality here. They are not just tilt slab, but the first builder went bankrupt. The architect was a great starter but a lousy finisher.

and processes. It concerns the work of Russell Devlin and in particular his project the St Luke's Close. (see over : 169) In 1994 the Anglican parish had promoted the development as a 'ground breaking', energy efficient, return to traditional village values. Of the 14 apartments 11 sold off the plans, but the rhetoric was not lived up to. Due for completion in January 1995, in September 1997 promised landscaping is still not in place. St Luke's parish became embroiled in an acrimonious dispute with the majority of residents. Complaints to the Commerce Commission alleging misleading practices and serious preaches of the Fair Trading Act, and to the Architects' Education and Registration Board, and the Anglican hierarchy, concern significant features of the development which were promised and not delivered and the substitution of promised/specified high-quality materials or components with cheaper ones. This has been signed by all but one resident, who allege the architect, Simes Real Estate, as the selling agents, and the Anglican Church Property Trust (CPT), as the legal vendor, are jointly and individually responsible for a raft of misleading practices in relation to the development. Several residents have hired independent housing assessors AA House Check who concluded the standard of interior and exterior finish was "below reasonable expectations of a development of this type." Devlin rejects the residents claim of inadequate supervision saying this idea springs from a public misconception about the role of the architect. 'We are not in total control', he says. He believes he is a victim caught between the unreasonable demands of the residents and the bumbling mistakes of builders and subcontractors. However it was he who hired the main contractors on behalf of his client, St Luke's, and was responsible, despite his demands, for overseeing their work. The manager of the CPT, Derek Allan, appointed an independent project manager to sort the mess out but by March 1996, after the supposed completion date had passed without sign of progress the residents wrote to the Architects' Education and Registration Board, which is an overlapping body with the New Zealand Institute of Architects (NZIA). They have declined to act as they insist on only dealing with Devlin's client who is the CPT. Russell Devlin is married to the daughter of St Luke's vicar, Anglican Archdeacon, Jim Riley, and employs another daughter as an architect in his practice. Allan conceded the residents have a right to be concerned about the close familial and church relationships between the key decision makers. There are other well documented cases of highly questionable projects Devlin has been involved in but to date no action has been brought against him by the NZIA. Devlin's own building contracting company has been used by his architectural company but this has now gone into liquidation. Asked why so many of his peers seem to be very unhappy about his work he replied that it was because he has been pushing ideas like getting good design to more people – which isn't supported by the majority in his profession. Stewart Ross, a former NZIA branch chairman was the only architect prepared to be quoted. He pointed out the domestic building industry is often a fraught business, trading in people's dreams. "As a general observation I think there is often with certain people a desire to design a wonderful solution at a wonderful price, but unfortunately this can be misleading."

But we do enjoy the communal area here. We have come together in many ways. The shared back yard has got a lot to do with that, and the shared activity of management. It is like a mini Town Council and you have got to become involved. I think the adversity has brought us together here. We drop in a lot to each other's houses.— that sort of thing - it would just not happen in the suburbs. The body corporate is in a settling down stage —there have been no disadvantages of communal factors that we have not been able to talk about and resolve.

St Luke's Close



Another resident in the same complex explained:

The architect here made the mistake of trying to be the developer as well. The builder went into receivership and the whole thing took a year longer than it was supposed to. I have been in business so I could handle it. It is part of life but some people here are absolutely livid. Before(in the suburbs) we would not have socialised at all with our neighbours but here there is a reason to get together. We have needed to negotiate to get things finished properly. All these people are professional people and are not so accustomed to having close, close buddies. Now we work in together – it is more than just a neighbourly, neighbour thing – there is a trust. We will get together also for things like a leaf rake, and someone will make scones. At Christmas every one takes their tables outside all together.

By their residential choice the residents of inner city apartments would seem to be at the cutting-edge of the changes implied by this new residential pattern. Central to these changes are the perceptions of, and acceptance, or difficulties experienced with, matters of privacy, control and autonomy. They are involved in a process of securing a framework of ontological security in their everyday lives. This is carried out in an increasingly dense urban setting, involving greater routine face to face interaction in the residential setting and where the management and control of their private living environment is actively negotiated in setting where dependency on, and co-operation with neighbours, has taken on a very different meaning in comparison to the traditional stand-alone suburban dwelling. If it is a residential form which is able to secure for a significant number of people an enhanced sense of ontological security the argument can be made that rather than representing ‘...a rendition of Simmel’s claim of the modern metropolis as characterised by indifference, the blasé attitude and individualism’ (in Dupuis and Thorns, 1998:28), the representation can be likened to the pre-modern times described by Giddens. The face to face interaction within the kinship pattern has to an extent been replaced with interaction within a social pattern reflecting the realities of a society changed in a great number of ways. Increasingly individual means of coping are

reflecting the need and ability of people to reestablish communal strategies and solutions in such a crucial locale as their homes. This is not being achieved easily or without considerable dissension and disagreement but this is not surprising considering the context of New Zealand's housing history, and the nature of the supply-side of housing provision in a 'free-market' dominated society.

Whether a new style and location of residence is being sought because of, or in spite of, the shared nature of the facilities and management structure will be open to conjecture but for the vast majority of participants the positive aspects of their move far outweigh the negatives. This is not the same as arguing that the apartment market is entirely customer driven. Consumer sovereignty is a much-vaunted concept, promoted by central government, council, developers, architects, builders, planners, marketers, and many others, but it is a notion that by its prevailing, compelling nature, obscures many levels of power and influence in both the supply and demand side of the residential housing market. My qualitative analysis of the demand side of this market has begun to identify many of the issues that impinge on the needs and realities of inner city apartment residents. The analysis of the supply side of this market has contextualised some of those issues and explained why in this new mass housing market, to argue that the market is only producing what the customer is demanding, is a shallow and inaccurate assessment of the situation. That is if it is meant that the 'customer' is in fact the person who will live in the new apartments. It could be argued that the needs of many new residents, who clearly are benefiting in many ways from their move into the inner city apartments, are being met in spite of, not because of, a great number of factors which have combined to produce this new housing form.

6. e: THE INNER CITY APARTMENT AS A SECURE BASE AROUND WHICH IDENTITY IS CONSTRUCTED

As depicted by Giddens, and interpreted by Dupuis and Thorns, the fourth condition necessary to attain a sense of ontological security is that of a secure base around which people can construct their identities. As this analysis of the inner city apartment as a site for constancy, routine, and control has indicated the four conditions necessary for a sense of ontological security to be maintained are inter-linked. Residents' needs and choices, as already detailed, reflect changes in society, changes in family forms and changes in the meaning of home. These changes are '...underpinned by a politics of identity' (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996:497).

Earlier research into the meaning of home within the particular context of New Zealand society (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996/98) has shown how, for many elderly people, being a homeowner provides a secure base around which identities can be constructed. It was argued that home ownership is part of the normative culture of this country, which is a notion that was supported and explained by a review of New Zealand's housing history in Chapter 4. For the older New Zealanders in the earlier study, their homes provided them with the setting within which they felt comfortable and secure, as they were able to perform the appropriate tasks assigned to their gender by the normative behaviour patterns of society at the time. The social construct of family and home resulted in the development of the suburban house and defined the role of women as belonging 'naturally' in the private sphere. Consequently the construction of her identity depended on her ability to fulfil her obligations as a mother and wife within the home. For her male counterpart the traumas of the post Depression days and the consequent concern with security resulted in his identity being constructed around the role of being the family 'provider'. Ownership of the home was the central tenet of this provision, and the male role was socially constructed to fulfil the stereotypical structural tasks both within and outside the house. For both men and women, although playing very different roles, security of tenure was of critical importance for the accomplishment of a sense of self and place.

The central tenet of this study is that ontological security can be attained through the home, and through home ownership. This has been suggested by Saunders in particular and endorsed by the respondents in the Dupuis and Thorns' study. As they say to understand this it is necessary to understand the wider context in which home ownership and home has developed such significance. To understand why the apartment type home is now more prominent is to also understand what has changed in the wider context. The ownership of the home is only part of that wider context. Sensitivity to what is owned and why and when it was produced is needed.

The degree of difference between the suburban stand-alone home and the inner-city apartment suggests that those moving into this environment are rejecting many of the norms and values around which a great number of New Zealanders have constructed their identity. To make what for many still seems such a radical move suggests that the standard New Zealand home and setting was unable to continue to provide the conditions which gave these people confidence in the 'continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of their social and material environments'(Giddens, 1990:92). The results of this study suggest the need for ontological security remains, the home as a site through which it is attained has not changed, and security of tenure remains a very prominent consideration for residents. For many the style and location of the home has changed.

The decision to move made by many of the residents involved in this study has often been taken at a time of changing circumstances and needs associated with life-stages. For those in the fifty-plus age groups the leaving of children from the family home frequently provided the impetus for the move. However, the age range, the motivations and realities of day-to-day living for participants suggest they are readapting to changing circumstances and conflicting demands which are far more pervasive and encompassing than simple adjustments within a continuing stable pattern of life-stages. At the heart of this matter appears to be a sense of identity, and the move to an inner-city apartment reflects and defines this. The thoughts of one participant reflect those of many interviewed in the course of this study.

I had lived overseas for many years but I still had that New Zealand psyche of needing to see a bit of water – a sunset. What I now see is a momentum growing to separate the image of New Zealand from the quarter acre section. A lot of people would now say, no... Yes it is very simplistic to say people have chosen to all live in the suburbs... We have been forced out into the suburbs.....very few people have sat down and thought about it... There are other images that can be equally as valid in New Zealand.

In 1971 Ian Nairn wrote a forward to the book *Civilia. The End of Suburban Man*: a challenge to Semidetsia (De Wolfe, 1971:3). It describes a low-rise high density city of revolutionary concepts to challenge the British 1971 census data that proved how dramatically the drift from the cities had become at that time. In his description I see reflections of what it is that has motivated and sustained the enthusiasm of most participants in this study. Much of what it is they identify with, and how the urban setting is nourishing and stimulating this identity, is represented here.

The city's special quality is its autonomy, a life that is something more than the sum of its separate births, marriages and deaths; the opposite of a suburb, which is just that. It goes its own way, and lets you go yours: and only if you do not like the city does this isolation, this splendid gift of unpossessive freedom, turn into loneliness. The rest is out there: your dining room the city's restaurants, your garden the city's parks, your transport a bus or taxis.... It achieves in a positive way what so many societies try to do negatively, through commune or kibbutz: it removes the need for useless possessions. Positive because it offers more than it takes away; and because it is impersonal it offers you a secret private life as well - for the possessions which really matter. Love, a sense of humour and the understanding which makes conversation into a genuine meeting instead of a pair of blind projections - they take no room at all.

Giddens argues that as tradition loses its hold individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a variety of options, and 'Lifestyle choices are decisions not only on how

to act but who to be' (Giddens, 1991:81, in Cockerham, 1995:157). Along with economic and environmental re-regulation the state has loosened the rules and norms governing consumption in New Zealand. The deregulation of tight import controls and on activities such as shop hours, gambling and drinking has resulted in consumption activities having a significant impact on the urban built environment. Consumer choice has been greatly enhanced as 'Modern consumption practices are reconceptualised as not a process satisfying material needs, but of pursuing the promise of symbolic difference' (Gardner and Sheppard 1989:497-50, in Le Heron & Pawson, 1996:322). The blurring of private/public boundaries within residential spaces as typified by the inner city apartment complexes is also occurring in shopping areas. What were once civic spaces have become privately owned shopping complexes that increasingly link consumption and leisure. It 'is in such activities / places that people symbolically create / recreate senses of individual and collective identity.... A consequence of the link between such consumption practices and identity is that people participate in both individually defined and collective spaces'(Le Heron & Pawson, 1996:336).

In their discussion on modernity, urbanism and modern consumption Glennie and Thrift make some observations that are relevant to this study. They quote Giddens (1991). 'Not just lifestyles but self-articulation is packaged and distributed according to market criteria.... but commodification is not the same as the standardisation of consumption.' Reflexivity of subjects has been cognitive and normative and now increasingly it is also aesthetic as judgements are made about the value of different social and physical environments. A cosmopolitanism '...presupposes extensive patterns of mobility, a stance of openness to others and a willingness to take risks, and an ability to reflect upon and judge aesthetically between different natures, places and societies...' (1992:435-436). Results of this study support Glennie and Thrift's observation that individual identities have become more diffuse but also more tightly drawn to particular life-styles. Shopping malls and re-designed inner-city centers are described as postmodern consumer developments capable of encompassing '...the large numbers of different vocabularies of description employed by divers social groupings' (1992:437). 'Urban environments were, and are, the preeminent generators of both new consumer practices and new forms of

social integration' (1992:440). They provide a sense of place that is common to many social groupings and it is in the throng of the city where the importance of interaction can be realised.

As recognised by Alexander *et al*, 'The simple social intercourse created when people rub shoulders in public is one of the most essential kinds of social 'glue' in society' (1977:498). I use this example to support my contention that an inner-city residence is able to provide many with a more relevant '...routine of face-to-face interaction' from which a source of ontological security can be attained. It does so in a created rather than a natural environment, and the position or tone of the participants of this study could be described as pro-urban rather than anti-urban. It could be argued that this is a trend that will not necessarily be nurtured in the context of a planning regime under the RMA that is firmly focused around the 'natural environment' rather than the created, built environment.

For most participants, but particularly for women, the restrictive atmosphere and the inconvenience of the suburbs was implied as being a major motivating factor behind their decision to move (see also Winstanley, 1995). As the inner city apartment as a site for a sense of constancy, routine and control has been examined the links between these factors and how participants see themselves, and wish to be seen, was clearly implied. The following section will provide some more explicit examples of how a changing residential style and location can demonstrate the way in which the collective and individual identity of New Zealanders is changing. What is demonstrated is the significance of residency in this process, both as a signifier and as the means by which change becomes possible.

The majority of participants in this study had made the move into an inner city apartment without knowing other residents in the area. The reactions from family and friends supported strongly the notion that the style and location of the move was considered to be irregular, if not quite strange. Some reactions have been noted in earlier sections, particularly those that pertain to intergenerational differences. Others, which typify the

responses received by many, include:

Our friends were quite staggered. They most probably said, 'Oh well that is A... and D... for you. You see we have always enjoyed the stimulation of new things. My friends could not understand when I went off to university either...I have always been keen to seek out gaps and fill them up. (Female, 60-69)

An older woman, who has lived for the last ten years in one of the first high-rise complexes built in the city back in the 1960's, remembered a newspaper article written at the time of their construction.

It talked about these rather raffish people, and what sort of citizen would do this and live in a place like this. You used to be a bit suspect if you did not have this permanent home in the suburbs. It is so different now but you know it was only about a year ago a young woman was visiting me here and she turned up her nose and asked if I was really going to stay living here. Living in an apartment to her seemed to be only for those who could not afford a proper house. People are just so locked into these things.

A young couple with children had moved into their apartment two years ago, after living centrally in London for a number of years, and then renting a house in the suburbs.

We didn't know anyone living in the inner city. It was not like the traditional New Zealand thing and it was thought of as rather an odd thing to do.

The factors most commonly mentioned as those that people were moving from, and those that they were moving to, provide a valuable insight into the changes taking place in the way collective and individual identities are being constructed in New Zealand. A gay man spoke to me of his motivations for moving and his thoughts regarding society's attitudes to gay people and his comfort with openly acknowledging his sexuality.

I have been thinking about why we are living in the inner city after you spoke to me about this, (when arranging a time for the interview) and a very big thing for me is the high proportion of gay people who live in the inner city and I knew that would come up. It would have been only a few years ago when I would really have hated doing this interview. I have been comfortable with it for some time but there are still times when I have to be a bit careful with what you say.

It does depend on the person... but you sum people up pretty quickly.... But I have to be a bit careful as my partner still has difficulty at work so I cannot identify him. Gay people don't have children to support, they have more disposable income, and they just like going out to the entertainments and eating out. That sounds a bit stereotypical but that is the big attraction for us. Gays have always lived in the inner cities all around the world because that is where things are. It is not so much a comfort or support thing of being around other gays but it is just being where it is at... There are a couple of gay bars still but with all the cafes opening gays wanted to go to those. The gay bars have struggled for years. Hotels didn't want them and the only bars were in hotels which were about to be demolished like the United Service, when things were a bit desperate and I guess they thought at least they would get the dregs of society in. They go for the gay dollar now though. Yes I would agree our homes do become part of our identity.

An older woman, living in a high-rise complex for several years, had thought about the area within the inner city where she would want to live. Differentiation within the location is clear, as has been detailed, and this example is an interesting reflection of the way associations between place and identity are played out within the urban landscape.

Before buying here I would drive down to Sumner (seaside suburb) to look, but I thought it was very dull. I was still working and I was involved in lots of cultural activities. Here it was just marvelous. The Avon Loop area was thought to be the area but I don't think it will become that. In the early days the Kilmore Street area was the red light area and people have always thought of that area with

suspicion. There still seems to be a prejudice so I don't think it will attract the best units. When I first came here the only thing that worried me were the very conservative people here, but it is changing now and it is livening up. (Female, divorced, 70-79, High-rise, Hagley area)

For a woman in her fifties having lived in an isolated rural area before spending some time in a rented suburban house, the search for a home she could identify with was difficult.

The real estate agents will show you what they have but I couldn't relate to any of the houses at all. I had not initially thought about an apartment but we did not want any maintenance and this suits our life style really well. I could never have bought a similar house in the suburbs. Suburbia and me would never have worked. I'm allergic to lawn mowers on Saturday mornings, and I'm allergic to a kitchen window over there looking straight at me from next door. I'm allergic to all those mundane sort of things. Here it is a very elegant style of living.

Responses from participants in this study suggest that the strong association between family, the raising of children and the suburban life style remains one of the defining characteristics of New Zealanders' identity. As would now be evident from this analysis there were indications that this notion is not one that will remain unchallenged. I have interviewed families with pre-school children as well as others with teenagers living in inner city apartments. These families have made their choice of residence in part because of, not in spite of, the fact that they have children. Others have experienced inner city living overseas and have provided examples of the benefits for their families from this experience. Some other parents with older independent children now questioned the assumption that the suburban home and setting was necessarily the ideal one in which children needed to be raised. The desire to move from factors identified with suburban life was certainly not restricted to the women interviewed. What was evident however, for both sexes, was that the gender roles prescribed by past social constructions of house

and family were no longer relevant for many residents. The perceived constraint of inner city living in Christchurch for families was a common theme of most participants.

Approximately fifteen years ago, when living on her own with her young child, a woman had the opportunity of buying an inner city apartment. Her comments reflect an abiding assumption about the unsuitability of an inner city address for a family.

It would have been such a good investment, but my son was very young then and I didn't really think it was the right place to be living at the time.

One of the few residents interviewed for this study who had been raised in Christchurch's inner city made these comments.

I have moved around the world but I have always wanted to be in the inner city. Suburbs are so boring. I can remember as a child all my friends would want to come home to my place...the diversity and excitement of it. We have this mindset of the quarter acre section. The perception is that it (the inner city) is not suitable for children, which is a great shame. With all these very small units going up you are getting all these yuppies moving in but I bet they will move out to the suburbs when they have their kids and then move back later in their lives.

Another single woman, living in an older home in the inner city area, and actively involved in the submission process to the City Plan, spoke of the loss of character of the area. Many of the new developments were seen as unsuitable and not conducive to a balanced and responsive living environment. Her thoughts illustrate one way of looking at how the 'free market' and a planning regime can operate to limit and predetermine how it is individuals, particularly those living with dependent children, are able to find a fit between their needs, aspirations and their residence.

With the RMA process and the City Plan we are losing all our amenities, our trees, our houses, in fact our history. The planners see a good city as a city with

lots of new buildings. The speculators come to make a buck. The architects come along and say you employ me and we can put on more units. The units are a tiny size now and so we have no families coming in. It was predetermined in the minds of the planning officers, these new density rules. I have said it is no use having all these wonderful sounding objectives (in the Plan) but everything is overruled by the density rules and heights. The inner city is becoming unsuitable for children because the apartments they are building now compared to even five years ago, are cheap and non-family.

The remaining comments also reflect the manner in which our residential patterns have come to be associated with our normative notions of family, home life and child rearing patterns. They indicate how these things become embedded in urban form and how patterns become self-perpetuating. They also provide an example of change in the way some New Zealanders are beginning to see themselves and how a place of residence can reflect and also be instrumental in effecting this change.

Moving into town is not what most people do and most people are happier doing what other people do – a sense of being part of things. That was not for us. For our children here it is just great (aged 7, 4, 1). There is plenty of room out-side here with the communal space. A great deal more 'stuff' goes on in here for them, so much more to see and experience. It is working here for us as a family now but we might need more space in about five years perhaps Christchurch ten years ago was a dead duck – nothing happened in the inner city, now there is big changes. But I do wonder what all these people (new young residents) will do when they have families. We definitely want to stay in the area but there is not much available.

A single woman living on her own and working in the inner city spoke of her housing plans.

It suits my life style here at the moment but it will not go on forever. I don't see

this as a community here. The community is very diverse. You need to send kids to the local school to be accepted but there is no real schooling in the inner city. No kids or schooling to tie it all in.

A married woman in her fifties spoke of her overseas experience.

In Europe it was wonderful for children in the inner city. Those apartments with their balconies, communal spaces and no through traffic. All the different nationalities living there, dying there, having their babies there, entertaining there. We have a long way to go before it will be good for children here. What the inner city needs are schools and lots of other children around.

When I asked a couple if they felt constrained in any way by their inner city apartment living the husband replied, (70-79)

If we had children we would feel constrained. (his wife replied immediately) Would we? I don't know about that. What strikes me now when you talk about spaces is how often did we actually use our space at the front of the garden. Virtually never. When you think of people overseas where most people live in apartments, they make greater use of their local facilities and spaces. There are the parks and I think our son really had a point when he said that we very much have suburbia built into our psyche, don't we?

The motivations and realities of residents in the inner city suggest the claim that the modern metropolis is characterised by indifference, the blasé attitude and individualism, needs refining. Like dichotomous distinctions between consumption-side and production-side explanations of gentrification, these debates obscure the insights gained by a focus on interrelationships, rather than an assumption that one will always be at the expense of the other. With a focus on the inner-city apartment as a site around which to construct a sense of identity the relationships of economic restructuring, demographic trends, household formation, and the structuring of the apartment market can be recognised. A

person's sense of identity is derived from all facets of their life and as such a crucial locale the home is likely to have a significant bearing constructing and reflecting that identity. The inner-city apartment as a preferred residential style and location, is reflecting not only the complex and contingent meanings associated with the home but also the complexity and contingency of the many factors which shape and direct the nature of urban environments. Residents' identities are constructed from the whole of their lives experiences in paid work, unpaid work in the home associated with children, family and other dependants, unpaid community work, leisure cultural and educational pursuits, and commodities owned and consumed. The residence is both a commodity and the place that has a vital influence on all other factors that impact upon this sense of identity. In a process of both cause and effect the supply-side and demand-side of housing can be seen as an integral component of how New Zealanders individually and collectively construct their identities. The move to inner city apartments verifies this.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This final chapter will summarise the rationale behind my study, its method and the structure. Conclusions pertain to the manner in which the social constructs of gender, family and home in New Zealand are linked. The way that interpretations of 'sustainability' and forces of the 'free market' now combine to effect changes in residential patterns is outlined. This highlights how social and cultural concerns tend to be neglected in the process. A summary of the residents' positive and negative experiences demonstrates how these matters are being played out in the urban landscape. Within a framework of ontological security the significance of residency, and changes to identity, control, constancy and routine, established how the meaning of home has changed for a group of New Zealanders. This includes how gender divisions, that have become embedded in urban form, are obfuscated in the process. What implication these conclusions have for the need and direction of future research projects is given.

The focus of this study has been on a group of people who have challenged many preconceived ideas of the type and ownership structure of the 'ideal' New Zealand home. Today's political and economic policies, notions of family and gender relations, and consumption and production practices have changed rapidly, particularly within the past two decades. Understanding how and where individuals find 'a place' for themselves in this changing world is becoming increasingly important. This study has identified some ways in which the socio-spatial significance of a changing residential pattern, represented by the move to inner city apartments, can add to this understanding. For the majority of participants a change in their residential setting has, for a variety of reasons, significantly altered the way in which they find and maintain a sense of ontological security. For these residents how the home is regarded and what is now expected of a residential environment differs in many ways from the findings of earlier studies on the meaning of home for elderly New Zealanders (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996, 1998).

By applying a comprehensive interpretation of context to an understanding of home it has been possible to highlight the structural forces that have shaped the taken-for-granted nature of our home ownership structure and residential patterns. It has required conceptualising the home as a residence, encompassing the internal dwelling, the household and the location. The nature of the home, and how it has come to be regarded, has been shaped by societal influences. To illustrate this links were made between economic and political forces, the urban environment, and the social construction of our notions and realities of home and family. This approach revealed how the political and economic agenda has shaped our residential patterns and how this construction has been associated with an undercurrent of a moral, social order, based on an assumption of the 'naturalness' of patriarchal gender relations. An historical perspective has explained how pervasive these inter-linking forces continue to be.

By making the move into the inner city the residents are residing in an environment that has been greatly affected by a vast array of statutory and non-statutory measures taken at both local and national government level. The changes are indicative of changes over many areas in the city as containment policies and higher density residential patterns become established. They are however experienced with much greater intensity in the inner city. This is Council policy and it is being framed within the constraints of an interpretation of sustainability arising from the effects based environmental, physical imperatives of the RMA, and the economic growth strategies of the 'free market'.

A result of the changed requirements of planning legislation the assumption has been made by Council that past residential patterns are not environmentally sustainable. Changes that are needed to achieve sustainability, and interpretations of what in fact it means, have been shown to vary greatly but as in the past, our residential patterns are the result of the prevailing political, economic and social concerns of the time.

To examine the focus on environmental 'sustainability' is not to downplay the absolute necessity of acknowledging and acting on the finite nature of physical resources and incorporating a more enlightened and realistic strategy to all future planning matters. The question however needs to be asked if the underlying base on which all present economic

and social policy is founded, that of growth, competition and profit, is the best route to 'sustainability', let alone appropriate housing provision. Equally there needs to be an acknowledgement of the fact that environmental 'sustainability' will not necessarily equate to good residential environments. Good residential environments will by definition always need to be environmentally sustainable, but to be sustainable also from a social and cultural sense requires a sensitivity to the dynamic, diverse and contested nature of what in fact this has come to mean to the residents of the city. This is an essential part of the equation and the question that needs to be asked is how well can market forces, in a planning regime based on environmental 'measurements', be expected to adequately recognise, acknowledge, or provide for these concerns.

Patriarchy and a clear divide between private and public, expressive and instrumental roles, male and female, work, home and leisure, urban and suburban, need to be seen as both cause and outcome of past policies. A comprehensive and gender inclusive examination of what it is that is being sustained, who has benefited in the past, and who is likely to benefit the most in the future from present policies, is unlikely to eventuate in the present climate. 'Sustainability' within the context of the urban environment, will continue to be a hollow, meaningless concept for many until these issues are fully and honestly faced.

The content of the City Plan and much of the rhetoric surrounding its implementation suggests a lack of acknowledgement of the links between created space and social relations. Social life does not develop separately from the space that surrounds it. The consequences of what planners and others do as they play their part in shaping urban space are not neutral. Their decisions will convey values, norms and ideals that for some will be constraining, increasingly irrelevant and will be challenged. What the public debate and this research has exposed is a narrow focus or tendency to such matters as:

- environmental sustainability that is not inclusive of social or cultural concerns;
- defining a successful development as one that reaches pre-construction sale figures made to speculators;
- strict adherence to yard dimensions or recession planes for example, compromising a

comprehensive development. The generic nature of existing rules and the spatially undefined nature of their application, associated with the effects based approach to policy and management, prevails;

- alternatively consents being bought or sold for short term personal gains;
- the creation of a residential pattern in which the planners express privately an abhorrence of the personal consequences of the resulting ownership structures of high-density developments.

The results highlight a lack of coherency as residential patterns, particularly in the inner city area of Christchurch, are changing rapidly. The new choices that recent developments have extended to residents have been readily accepted by many, as this study illustrates. This does not preclude a critical analysis of the changes however as the new '... choices, new advantages, and new constraints ... will impact on different groups, ages and stages in different ways' (Franklin, 1990:101). As with the rest of the city the inner city area is markedly differentiated in terms of the quality and cost of new residential units. In a market driven environment, with multi-ownership residential developments driven far more directly by speculator or investment finance than conventional housing, attention to design detail and consideration for the resident, suffers. My observation, and the responses of participants of this study, suggest building standards, design, and management and planning skills do not appear to be achieving the heightened level of expertise, skills or control demanded by the greatly increased intensity and physical and social consequences of high density living arrangements.

As the experience of the past makes clear, to sustain a belief in consumer choice or demand-side considerations as the sole or even major determinant of our residential patterns is to ignore the context in which they have developed. However the need to also integrate factors of individual action and the relationship and interdependency between structure and agency is exemplified by the actions of those who have made the move to an inner city apartment. This becomes clear when considered in the context of the pervasiveness of the past physical and social relationships associated with our residential patterns. A perspective of housing provision needs to incorporate the residents'

definitions of an enduring, relevant living environment. As Saunders and Williams state, 'We know what political and ideological interests say about the home but not a lot about what the ordinary people say and how they live their lives'(1988).

As Dupuis and Thorns argue (1996,1998) home ownership is part of the normative culture of this country. What this study also argues is that the physical nature and location of what is owned, and the gendered social outcomes of this construct, are an important component of that normative culture. Changes in residency are changing the nature of the ownership structure and social relationships associated with our residential patterns. These things will need to be incorporated into future studies as we seek to understand the meanings of home in our society.

An analysis of the residents' experience of residency, within a framework of ontological security, has helped highlight the areas in which existing understandings of the home can be seen to reflect the manner in which our homes, and notions of them, are not static, but dynamic processes. The added complexities of a changed ownership structure and a dense urban location is challenging previous understandings of the private / public boundaries of residential settings, our meanings of home, and how they relate to the securing and maintaining a sense of ontological security.

The analysis made of past research suggested older New Zealanders felt that in the future the chance of the home remaining an important site of ontological security was diminishing. This earlier research (Dupuis and Thorns, 1996, 1998) also indicated that the relevance of one's home for maintaining a sense of ontological security equated to a 'commitment' to that home. This involved gender roles and life styles represented and defined by a residential pattern that prescribed a life that by its physical, social and legal nature resulted in residents indeed being committed to a life centered at home. It was 'normal', it was expected, and because of the forced separation of consumption and production activities, private from the public, and male from female, it became self-perpetuating and self-fulfilling. As the response of many of the participants in this study confirm for many it represented a 'trap'.

Responses from participants of this study have varied between ages and gender, however a change of residence has opened up opportunities to engage in a greater variety of paid and / or unpaid activity in a more conducive or convenient way. For most their sense of constancy, routine, control and identity, has been enhanced. Identity, or what it is people relate to or wish to associate with, has to do with the specificity of individuals. As represented by participants in this study that 'specific person' is a New Zealander who, by their choice of a changed type and location of residence, is seeking to change aspects of their lives. They are doing this with a new sense of control. They are challenging what has become established as the typical New Zealand identity. What it is they identify with is being changed by, and is resulting in, their ability to take control of many aspects of their lives partly through their residential choice. Changes in identity and control will then be reflected in what it is that is needed now to provide a more relevant sense of constancy and routine.

These findings support Iris Marion Young's analysis (1997), 'House and Home: Feminist Variations on a Theme'. She acknowledges that although homes can be the site of many negative experiences, such as verbal or physical violence and overt or covert control, because of the positive way our homes can provide a sense of identity and value, they can be empowering. It is a concept that acknowledges attachment or identity with a home '...does not oppose the personal and the political but describes conditions instead which makes it possible' (1997:159). This point is central to the argument of this thesis. It succinctly expresses the value and need to understand the changing nature of our homes. The motivations and experiences of the participants in this study confirm the potential of a home to be positive and empowering as they describe the changing conditions that generally allow so much more for them to be 'possible'. Their new homes, with certain reservations, are crucial to this empowerment. What may be possible to interpret as less commitment to the home as a source of ontological security is in fact a reaffirmation of the importance of the home (residence) for this sense to prevail. This is not the same as many older people would regard as a 'normal' 'commitment' to a home.

Reflecting the legacy of the past ownership remains a significant concern, although an assumption of the inevitability of this is not left unquestioned. Similarly constancy was concerned with more pragmatic, immediate concerns than those of passing on a legacy or future family obligations. Changing expectations, realities and assumptions of women, of families, and of different ages, are impacting on the demands placed on residential environments. The feminist challenge to the devalued status of women relocated to the private sphere, along with social and economic restructuring, demographic trends, and changing family forms are exposing the deficiencies of the traditional New Zealand housing form. The traditional nuclear family form is no longer dominant, and compounded by the implications of the state's partial withdrawal from collective strategies for the delivery of many of its social functions, what has been assumed to be synonymous with the family will also be forced to change. The home is no less significant as a source of ontological security. The nature of the residency and what needs to be secured for a sense of constancy to be maintained is however changing.

Stage-of-life considerations will to an extent always determine the constraints and requirements of residents, however, irrespective of age or gender, responses of participants in this study indicate a requirement for a sense of control in their lives, emanating from their residence, which extends beyond the interior domestic sphere. The nature of a residence is increasingly expected by many to allow for the full participation of an individual socially, culturally, and in the paid and unpaid workforce. Control of their privacy at home, greater control of their work, leisure and social relations, and an extended sense of control in their immediate environs, have motivated many to seek a new residential setting and form. The changed ownership structure and the physical characteristics of the house and the location have had a significant impact on the sense of control experienced by the participants. By utilising the concepts of privacy, privatism and privatisation, what the residents felt empowered to control, how they were able to do this, and factors unique to the physical and social setting that both constrained or lessened their sense of control have been highlighted.

The distinction between the public and the private is an ambiguous one. The legal

requirement of unit titles is consistent with the greater use of contracts that in today's neo-liberal climate are increasingly shaping individual and collective activities. It can be argued that they have the tendency to depersonalise social relationships. Reflecting on the social effect of the new residential form and the nature of home, home ownership, privatisation and withdrawal from collective life, the contract of shared management associated with the unit title is not replacing what was once a more personalised relationship. Control and influence between neighbours has not been a recognisable trait of past residential forms in New Zealand as the stand alone suburban house and private ownership has represented autonomy and individuality. Physical proximity, as Louis Wirth (1938, in Saunders and Williams, 1988) noted, could breed social distance. However for many their move has led to greater social contact and an expansion of interests and activities with far greater convenience and control. Saunders and Williams (1988) note the danger of a Wirthian disregard for others and a retreat from any recognition of citizen obligations and increased social cleavages from increased privatisation. The social relationships associated with the unit title structure and the nature of the location challenges this concept and although the degree of personalisation that becomes associated with these arrangements will vary greatly between individuals and complexes, the move is towards greater collectivism and not increased privatisation. This is often managed with difficulty, exacerbated by a variety of factors including:

- the quality of design of the buildings and layout;
- the complications of varying degrees of commitment to the body corporate structure shown by tenants compared to owners;
- deliberate and / or inadequate information being given by real estate agents to both owners and tenants concerning their responsibilities and the requirements of the ownership structure when purchasing or leasing property;
- personality problems of some within the body corporate structure;
- the ongoing problems associated with a lack of accountability on the part of some developers, architects or builders;
- interpretation made by council concerning developments of adjoining properties;
- the cost and effort involved with communal decisions required to rectify physical

faults that would appear to have resulted from inadequate minimum standards, or lack of foresight and / or inadequate monitoring of construction;

- the need to obtain legal decisions in matters that are complex, and time consuming, unfamiliar, stressful and expensive;
- demarcation and the establishment of a clear, consistent and workable framework for the management of a very different pattern of residing.

Assumptions are still made concerning past, present and future residential patterns that neglect a consideration of social relations and the gendered nature and outcome of the resulting urban forms. Qualitative data collected from residents in this study is reflecting the expectations and needs of many who are not bound within the confines of gender roles and work and leisure patterns prescribed and defined by a settlement pattern of the past. Their decision to move is fueling the redevelopment of the inner city, but the lesson of past residential patterns being able to become established largely unchallenged and without critical socially aware analysis being sought or applied, has yet to be learnt. We need a collective vision of an integrated life of domestic work, productive work and leisure to inform public policy and physical planning, '.... to bring forth an organisation of time and space in which that integration is fostered' (see Saegent, 1980, pp596-611).

A conclusion of this study is that this appealing Saegent concept is not being adhered to with any real commitment or acknowledgement of the social consequences of urban form and the interrelationships between them. The experience of residents in this study has shown how important their residence is to their ability to find and maintain a sense of ontological security. They have provided positive and negative examples of the significance, and personal consequences, of finding a fit between oneself and one's home. Much of this relates to the blurring of the public / private boundaries of the social, physical and legal relationships within the new residential patterns. This is an area that requires a great deal more study as urban containment policies are pursued with vigour. Qualitative research is required to help clarify what are the implications for residents of the changed ownership structure and the shared management and spaces particularly those associated with the body corporate structure, but also the cross-leases of 'town-

house' developments. Environmental 'bottom-lines' on their own will be a hopelessly blunt instrument to establish or account adequately for these socio-spatial concerns.

A feature of the responses from participants, young and old, parents or not, has been the lamenting of the fact that the development of the inner city residential environment is not conducive to families with children. Notable examples were given of families with children, particularly those with extensive overseas experience, who have been able to shift their focus of identity away from the rural, colonial trappings of the past, towards an urban identity. They have done this in spite of most expressing concern at the unsuitability of new housing developments that are quickly saturating available building sites in the area. Most participants have in part rejected the spatial and social separation of gender, age, work and leisure that is embedded in the suburban environment. The focus of Council on sustainable transport systems and other physical resources, and the particular stage of the building industries and investment cycle, have coincided to enable some to change their residency. For some the separation of work and home, residential from commercial, and public from private has been partially bridged.

Changes in household composition and employment have fuelled the changes of this built environment but the advantages remain limited to a small section of the community. As Karen Franck states the designed environment is a physical manifestation of social concepts(1988:70). The promotion and acceptance of the inner city as a vibrant and / or convenient place to live by many new residents has done little to change the way the built environment supports a differential assignment of activities to women and men. Results of this study suggest the assumption that prevails in society concerning gender roles is that predominantly women remain the carers and that caring will be done in the suburbs. Greater recognition is needed of the constraints, and gendered outcomes, of distances from services, work and transport, isolation and the unequal sharing of housework, dependency of children to access activities, and boredom, where ever one lives.

Further study of tenants in inner city apartments, residents in traditional suburban homes and those who have moved to new suburban areas or outlying dormitory settlements, and

the experience of those in rural areas, is needed to build a more complete picture of how our residential forms constrain and empower us. Much could be learnt by undertaking a comparative study of other New Zealand cities to determine how varying local interpretations and strategies to cope with national political, economic and social policies, are shaping residential patterns and the expectations and realities of residents in them. As New Zealand's home ownership structures and patterns of tenure continue to change, the unique experiences and associations we have with our homes needs to be contextualised within a global setting that incorporates a diversity of physical, social and legal patterns. Knowledge of the extent to which our own residential patterns are socially constructed, and the possibility of incorporating different strategies or accepting alternative values and norms and adapting these to the planning, design, and construction of residential settings, would then be greatly enhanced.

Residents who are seeking a better fit between themselves, their homes, neighbourhood and the dominant cultural values, or who '...sense that within their everyday worlds, they cannot overcome their troubles...' (Mills, 1954:1), will tend to personalise their difficulties. The hope of this study has been to help explain the connections between individual actions and structural forces in relationship to residency and our meanings of home, and to emphasise the significance of why and how our homes are such a 'crucial locale' within society. Actors from both the demand-side or supply-side of residency may then more fully '...grasp what is going on in the world, and to understand what is happening in themselves [or their interest groups] as minute points of the intersection of biography and history within society' (Mills, 1954:7).

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